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CAN SOCIETY BE SAVED BY EDUCATION?

AT least three definitions are needed if this question is to be discussed. We must know what we mean by society, by salvation, and by education. As the possible definitions of these great conceptions must be infinite we will avoid them all and try to put the question again in a more modest form. What can the schools contribute to the formation of a State in which justice, morality, kindness, and self-control predominate? Another set of definitions is required here, but however exact we make them we shall not prevent different individuals from having different ideas of a school and different visions of the sort of State they would wish to live in. Presuming, however, that, with all their differences, men of goodwill have some common vision of and love for justice, morality, and kindness, we may venture to hope that the joint aim and endeavour of such individuals is not entirely unthinkable.

To some of the Greeks the problem seemed simple. 'If a State has once started well,' said Plato, 'it exhibits a kind of circular progress in its growth. Adherence to a good system of nurture and education creates good natures, and good natures, receiving the assistance of a good education, grow still better than they were.' The real problem, therefore, was to find a good system of education. Character can only be fixed by a training, beginning with the earliest years and proceeding steadily until the climax of life. The real work of the magistrates, in Plato's *Republic*, is to direct such a training. In the early years physical and

mental culture receive equal attention. After the age of twenty physical training becomes less important, and after thirty the most efficient individuals are selected for the study of dialectics. The best minds, well adapted to the study of philosophy at the age of fifty, enter the class of magistrates and take up the duties of administration. The rule of the philosopher-king is the ideal towards which this development moves. 'Unless it shall come to pass that philosophers are kings, or that those who are now called kings and potentates be imbued with a sufficient measure of genuine philosophy—that is to say, unless political power and philosophy be united—there will be no cessation of ills for States, nor yet, I believe, for the human race; neither can the commonwealth which we have sketched in theory,' says Plato, 'ever till then see the light of day.' It is easy to ridicule this conception of Plato, to point to his own failure at Syracuse and the notorious ineffectiveness of such philosophers who have held temporal sway. Yet we must remember that the Athenian of that age had good reason to be dissatisfied with the democracy of his own times, and that there seemed to be an urgent call for clear thinking in politics and for the rule of the expert. The Greek was the pioneer in political thought, as in many other spheres; he was also the first exponent of democracy and the first to discover its great limitations. Modern democrats, like H. G. Wells, are at least one with Plato in this respect—that they believe that the real cause of our disorders is 'muddleheadedness,' and that there is nothing either good or bad but thinking (or the lack of it) makes it so. Let the intelligence of men, therefore, get to work, and there is no difficulty that cannot be removed and no problem that cannot be solved. Once more we are crying out for a philosopher-king; but our king now is to be no head of an academy, nor even a Marcus Aurelius on the throne, but some eminent professor of the Fabian Society with illuminati of that Society to form his Cabinet.

In the process of the education of the citizens of Plato's Republic they would gradually be sorted out into the respective classes for which they were qualified. These classes are not the product primarily of social advantages due to birth, as in the modern divisions of men into the upper, middle, and lower classes respectively. They are indeed threefold, and represent the qualities of gold, silver, or copper; but, then, a golden parent may produce a silver child and vice versa. It is the business of the guardians of the State to see that each child finds its way into its proper class, i.e. the class for which it is fitted by nature. The golden class is the class of rulers or guardians; the silver class is the class of auxiliaries or warriors; while the copper people are trained to be artisans or cultivators of the soil. Beneath this structure of free citizens is the class of slaves, for whom no education at all is necessary. Indeed it is only to the highest class of all that complete education need be given. The labouring or trading class consists of those individuals in whom appetite prevails. The auxiliaries have a generous, courageous disposition which rises above mere appetite, but they lack the full powers of reason, which are revealed only in the rulers or guardians. This psychology of the three classes is much too simple. There is no recognition of the fact that each individual constitutes his own class; and while Plato's divisions might have some significance for the Greek city-state, in which every citizen could be present at a general assembly and hear what the orators had to say, they have no meaning for the complicated structure of the modern national State. Nevertheless, the plea that the whole aim of education is to make a good citizen, and the profound belief that education can fit each man for his task in a perfect organism and for co-operation with others, is one that demands attention.

Psychologically the weakness of the whole Platonic conception of the saving virtue of education lies in its neglect of the training of the will. They said, if men can

once see clearly what justice is, what self-control is, what liberality is, and what courage is, they will become brave, liberal, temperate, and just. Clear thinking is the royal road to right living. If you can exactly define a vice, you have defined it away. These philosophers rarely seem to come face to face with the anguished cry of a Paul, 'The good that I would I do not. . . . O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?' We can understand that Plato believed that the vision of the highest beauty and truth was so invincible that the weak will of men could never resist it. Still, his own famous myth of the dwellers in the cave is a sufficient proof that for the mass of men that vision was but shadowy and remote. For there he depicts them chained in the darkness of a cave, looking at the shadows of objects cast upon a wall, and hearing only the echoes of voices that are thrown back to them. If they are to enter into the world of reality, their chains must be broken and they must climb up out of their prison-house into the light of day. This intellectual ascent is clearly but for the few. For them education is a lifelong movement towards reality, and at the close of the day they may be able to gaze upon the light of the sun undazzled. Socrates may have had confidence in the development of smiths, shoemakers, and tanners; but Plato seems to regard the lot of men as fixed at birth. The individual is lost in the State.

Perhaps this does not appear so clearly in the teaching of Aristotle, but we must remember that he was more concerned with concrete cases than his great master had been. Plato evolved the ideal Republic from his inner consciousness; Aristotle examined the constitutions of 150 different States in order to find out upon what principles a good constitution could be constructed. Still, he is just as sure as Plato was that the good citizen will be made by scientific education and by education alone. Indeed, education is the highest duty of every State, the real reason for its existence. The chief function of its government is to

secure a uniform and compulsory system of public education. The form of this education does not differ in essence from that which Plato recommends. 'It aims at mental culture rather than practical utility, lays due stress upon the physical side of the training, and attaches to music a moral significance and a character-making influence that are quite incomprehensible to the modern mind.'

The modern mind would not be what it is but for these pioneers; and while it would be idle to deny that in the course of the centuries some truths have become clear that never appeared above their horizon at all, we must ever challenge their wisdom with becoming modesty. The whole-hearted confidence which they showed in the value of education never seems to have reappeared until the Renaissance, and then only to be overwhelmed by the deeper emotions of the Reformation and the religious struggles that followed. It was not until the nineteenth century that zeal for universal education began to appear once more, and that for the first time the school was put within the reach of every boy and girl in the land. What high hopes were centred in the wholesale diffusion of knowledge! Part of the optimism of the Victorian era was due to the marked changes in material conditions of life owing to the expansion of business and the discoveries of science. The conquest of nature, as it was termed, went on apace. There seemed no closed doors that the keys of knowledge would not ultimately open, no difficulties that science would not ultimately remove. Even the elementary schools ceased to be the bear-garden in which monitors or pupil teachers contended with their untameable scholars, and became centres of learning from which children of tender years carried away not only a knowledge of the three R's but also details about the composition of the air and other significant facts. Others were even released with certificates of efficiency in drawing or in various branches of science from some mysterious institution in South Kensington, to be

framed and hung up in their homes as a demonstration as long as they should live that they were educated citizens. Max Müller has told us that the words used by the red men to signify a school may be literally translated 'a stopping-place where sorcery is practised.' There was in certain circles an almost pathetic belief in the sorcery or witchcraft of the school, and men believed that the alchemist's power of transmuting the baser metals into gold was to be found there. But there is no royal road to social salvation. Hope springs eternal in the human breast; and there is need for that perennial fountain, for the difficulties that beset human progress are innumerable. As man cuts his way through the dense undergrowth it seems to sprout up again as rapidly as he goes forward. It was no little city-state with its 5,040 citizens that the nineteenth-century educationist had to think of. He dealt with millions of children coming from homes of extremest wealth and of extremest poverty, with every variety in between. The children of the State might be children of saints, children of criminals, children from overcrowded tenements in the slums of enormous cities, or children from equally foul homes in the hamlet, children of mentally-defective parents, children of parents whose one aim was to secure a little wage-earner as soon as possible, lads of parts and lads with no parts at all. If the first extravagant hopes were not realized, it must be allowed that we have not yet had sufficient time to judge the effect of this great venture. We have not seen two generations of our people through the popular schools. Subjects, methods, aims have been revised and re-revised. All is still in the experimental stage. The criticisms of employers of labour who are in search of competent typists, or of dignitaries of the Church who seek a little more refinement, are not to be accepted as the decrees of Rhadamanthus. Much water has gone under the bridges since 1870, and there are real signs of progress. If we no longer believe that the steady impartation of knowledge to vacant minds

will ultimately transform the world, we may be in the way of discovering a more satisfactory nurture for the children of the State. 'To sit as a passive bucket and be pumped into, whether you consent or not, can in the long-run be exhilarating to no creature; how eloquent soever the flood of eloquence that is descending,' said Carlyle after two stricken hours of the conversation of Coleridge. If such a patient man as Carlyle complains in this fashion of a great teacher, how could the impatient and restless child be expected to bear up against a flood of five solid hours of instruction every day? There was a time when the school was regarded as another type of bucket-shop after the Coleridge model. There are still lecturers extant with a pitiful belief in that kind of steady and regular supply from the pump-handle.

But we are persuaded better things of the elementary and secondary schools, of the public schools and the universities of this country to-day. Let us make no artificial separations in this discussion, for education is one and its aim one, in the village primary school and in the research laboratories at the university. The Greeks can at least teach us this. The aim may be defined in a hundred different ways, but it is at least to help in the production of the individual's best possible personality rather than in the impartation of so much information. One modern teacher expresses his aim in this way: 'Education is greater than instruction, greater than specialization. It is rather universalization, a steeping of the individual, that is, in all the common elements of noble and beautiful life—thought, work, play, service, justice, friendship, love.' The writer of the biggest book on education published of recent years, Mr. Maxwell Garnett, after an elaborate psychological discussion of more than 300 pages, comes in chapter xviii. to his conclusions as to the aim of education. He begins with these startling words, 'Here then, at last, we have our answer to the question, "What should be the aim of education?"' And our answer is, "To form Christian

characters." He defines in some detail his conception of a Christian character. It consists of 'a strong will co-operating with a single wide interest-system,' the wide interests being gathered together into one dominating purpose—the advancement of the Kingdom of God in the minds of men. It is not enough that our schools should turn out patriots: they must turn out world-citizens. Such world-citizens, to be effective for good, must have a strong purpose based on an active faith; they must be rich in hope, be stimulated by brotherly love more than by any other primary emotion, and find in all their fellows common experiences and likenesses. 'All these conditions,' says Mr. Garnett, 'are satisfied by the fundamental Christian hypothesis—that God is the centre of the universe . . .; that knowledge of God begins by faith; that hope of eternal life belongs to people who seek to know God; that brotherly love is of the very essence of God; and that all human beings are in some peculiarly close relation to God.' With this aim as the controlling factor, he then proceeds to outline a most elaborate national system of education. We see in imagination chalk and blackboard, map and model, laboratory and workshop becoming the instruments not merely of the welfare of man but of the glory of God. Do not imagine that this is merely the isolated dream of one eccentric writer. Similar conceptions come from many present-day writers on education, although changes in phraseology may obscure the fact. The head master of a famous public school says, 'In season and out of season we teach that the liberty we largely grant to our boys is to be used in the service of the Commonweal: that a boy must live for his society.' And Professor Zimmern defines the Commonwealth for us. 'A Commonwealth is an organization designed with the ruling motive of love and brotherhood. It seeks to embody, not only in phraseology and constitutional doctrine, but in the actual conduct of public affairs, so far as the frailty and imperfection of man admit, the

spirit and ideals of religion. "Whosoever will be great among you shall be your minister; and whosoever of you will be the chiefest shall be the servant of all."

If these declarations represent the aim of the teacher, and if the teacher is meeting with any measure of success, we may be certain that education will play its part in leading humanity forward to a fairer city than it finds anywhere on earth at present. When, however, we come from the discussion of aims to realities we are apt to find the descent a somewhat rapid one. The very idea of the school as the manufactory of these perfect little citizens seems ridiculous to a certain type of mind. People who have never seen the best kind of present-day elementary school or have fashioned their conception of a public school from the perusal of the *Loom of Youth* may be forgiven if their incredulity conquers their optimism. It is true that every teacher cannot be the heaven-born exponent of the true aim of education. It is true also that his influence reaches to but a small part of the life of the boy. It is still more true that the best schools men ever dreamed of cannot save a society which is demoralized by bad housing and unemployment. Yet there are whole areas in our over-crowded cities where the school is the one effective centre of civilization, opening to the fascinated gaze of little children magic casements into faery lands which must too soon be lost to view in the grime and vulgarity of the streets. A protest is sometimes made against the extravagant attacks made by teachers on our present social system. Is there not a cause? So much of the best work of the schools is spoiled because children have to go back to the slum, back to blind-alley occupations, and in a few years of disillusion the flickering spark of promise is hopelessly extinguished. The Education Act of 1918 hoped to grapple with some of these difficulties. All paid labour by children under twelve was to be abolished; exemptions from attendance at school of any children under fourteen were to be cancelled; and compulsory continuation

schools were to be established for all young persons between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. It was hoped that in these critical years the capacity of children for this or that walk of life would be definitely tested and blind-alley occupations might be avoided. The suspension of the continuation schools seemed to be not merely a piece of false economy but a real national disaster in the dark days of unemployment. It would have been something to have reduced the alarming totals of unemployed persons by keeping the schools open; it would have been even more to have kept in existence a force working against the demoralization of the child and the creation of the hooligan of the streets during the most important formative years of life. The period of fourteen to eighteen is the age when the great religious decisions are made, when the moral foundations of life are settling down, when the character is really formed. Changes in personality that take place after eighteen are trivial in comparison with those which may occur before that age. If education, then, is really to count as a force which shapes the men and women of to-morrow, the schools should be given some kind of opportunity to do their work up to age of eighteen. No doubt we shall only be able to reach that goal by stages, and much labour will be necessary before the nation is convinced that such a programme is desirable, yet those who really believe in education will not hesitate to set about the task. They must demonstrate the value of their work. The teaching profession must be steadily reinforced by the addition of teachers who have not merely high academic qualifications but moral enthusiasm and a high sense of vocation. No merely secular education can realize the aims of the best present-day educationists. There is no salvation for men along the lines of more science in the schools, more accurate history and higher mathematics alone. The mere knowledge of the location of Kamchatka or quadratic equations neither adds a cubit to the stature nor very much to the mental

treasury. The value of details of information received by the mind lies not so much in their intrinsic worth as in the gap they fill in a mental scheme of a personality moving to a definite goal. It is the discovery of this best possible personality for each individual that seems to be the aim of all those who are making experiments in methods of teaching to-day. The Montessori method, the Dalton plan, the play-way, free discipline, psycho-analysis, and the many other attempts that modern teachers are making to make the school not only a happier but a more effective home of culture, are alike in one thing—they are trying to find the real self of every boy and girl in the schools.

Is the real self worth finding? The Christian at least must believe that it is. However dark a view of the possibilities of human nature his doctrine of original sin may give him, he believes that there is such a thing as original goodness too. The doctrine of heredity has a heavenly as well as an earthly aspect. The boys and girls in the schools are not only the children of John and Mary Smith, they are also the sons and daughters of Almighty God. When, therefore, they come to their real selves they say instinctively, 'I will arise and go to my Father.' As the late Mr. Clutton-Brock showed so well in that little book *The Ultimate Belief*, the love of goodness for the sake of goodness alone, the love of truth for the sake of truth alone, and the love of beauty for the sake of beauty alone, are not unnatural in the child. It is the business of the teacher to give these affections their fair chance of growing. They must have sunshine and fresh air. They flourish in an atmosphere of faith and hope and love. The love of goodness, truth, and beauty is in reality the love of God. This is the religion of the schools. It is present as much in the geography as in the scripture lesson. It is not one subject in the curriculum, but the spirit that runs through the whole. Relate that temper to the old Scottish zeal for true culture, and you have a force which would steadily help to fashion good

and thoughtful men and women. A typical Scotsman of an earlier generation declared that his happiness in life had been chiefly due to the fact 'that the good man to whom I owe my existence had the foresight to know what was best for his children. He had the wisdom, and the courage, and the exceeding love, to bestow all that could be spared of his worldly means, to purchase for his sons that which is beyond price, education. So equipped, he sent them forth to fight life's battle, leaving the issue in the hand of God; confident, however, that though they might fail to achieve renown or to conquer Fortune, they possessed that which, if rightly used, could win for them the yet higher prize of Happiness.'

Who will venture to prove that such fathers were mistaken in their foresight? Their faith was justified by works. Given an education, dominated by the idea that its chief aim is to preserve individuality and to form the highest possible character in each individual, we may justifiably expect a great deal from our schools. But mankind has many battles to fight on its march forward 'on to the bound of the waste.' It has many facts to remind it daily that it is still in a howling wilderness—tragedies of the home, tragedies of disease, tragedies of unemployment, tragedies of the slum, tragedies that spring from some deep-seated hereditary taints of the blood, tragedies of minds that seem incapable of growth, tragedies connected with the sexual impulse, the deepest and most difficult problem of all. The physician who comes forward with a cheap and ready-made solution of the problems of society is a quack and a charlatan. Of this, however, we may be sure—that if men are being saved, society is being saved. If our boys are growing up into courageous and true men and our girls into pure and thoughtful women, they will be able by labour of mind and body to guide the movement of civilization in the right direction. It is not too much to say that education will make a large contribution towards this desirable result.

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TENNYSON'S AFTER-WORLD

THE facts concerning the origin of *In Memoriam* are too well known to need more than a brief mention here. Arthur Hallam, son of Henry Hallam the historian, was a brilliant youth about eighteen months younger than Tennyson, and his closest friend at Cambridge. Some critics of the poem infer that Tennyson overstates his abilities; but his college friends placed him above all his contemporaries, including Gladstone, as one likely to justify great and lofty expectations. Gladstone himself said of him that 'among his contemporaries at Eton he stood supreme,' and that he 'resembled a passing emanation from some other and less darkly-chequered world.' Hallam was engaged to Tennyson's sister Emily. He left the University to read for the Bar, and lived in London with his father at 67 Wimpole Street until he accompanied the latter on a tour to the Continent. While they were staying at Vienna, Hallam died suddenly of apoplexy on September 15, 1833. The body was brought by sea from Trieste, and buried at Clevedon, on the Bristol Channel, on January 3, 1834.

Tennyson, stricken with grief, wrote various sections of what is now *In Memoriam* over a period of sixteen and a half years, and later arranged them as one poem, the prologue being written last, in 1849, and the whole published anonymously in 1850. The metre is unusual. Tennyson at first thought himself the originator of it; it was, however, pointed out to him that Ben Jonson and Sir Philip Sidney had both used it before him. He meant to call it 'Fragments of an Elegy'; but, though it is not one poem, as 'Adonais' and 'Lycidas' are units, though each section is itself a poem, yet at the same time the whole is a unit, as beads may each be units and yet form a necklace, a fairer unit still.

We shall not examine the poem stanza by stanza and line by line. This has been done once and for all by A. C. Bradley

in his *Commentary*. We shall rather attempt—what we have never seen attempted before—to gather up Tennyson's ideas about the life after death under certain headings, basing our inquiry on *In Memoriam*, but finding support and confirmation of the ideas in his other poems.

Since the poem was written in the way we have already indicated, we shall not expect to find a gradual unfolding of ideas. In fact, it is only one of the most general character, and may be described as a development from the darkness which numbs the spirit at the death of the friend to the sunlight of greater assurance of immortality. But the graph of the poet's faith and hope does not steadily rise. Certainty in sect. xxx. is followed by 'a doubtful gleam of solace' in xxxviii. In xxx. he feels there is 'one mute Shadow watching all'; but in xl. he grieves that, unlike the bride who goes and may return again, the dead never return, and in xc. and xci. he is longing for the sense of presence. Elements of doubt are found throughout the poem¹; but the poet

fought his doubts and gather'd strength,
He would not make his judgement blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them; thus he came at length
To find a stronger faith his own.

The following headings might be used to examine any scheme of the life after death. They are merely useful for the classification of ideas.

I. THE FACT OF A LIFE AFTER DEATH.—As we should expect, the poet does not come to the acceptance of the fact of immortality by the method of the syllogism. Logical proof is no business of poetry. As the poet says (xlviii.):

Her care is not to part and prove.

The fact is a fact of faith, and it breaks in on a poet through the door of feeling or emotion. Even on the theologian this

¹ Note elements of doubt in iii. 5, xii. 13, xxxviii. 8, xl., cvii. 20, cxviii. 5, cxx. 1, cxxxi.

fact must break through in this way. There is nowhere any *proof* of immortality.

As the 'Ancient Sage' tells us :

Thou canst not prove thou art immortal ;

and as Tennyson puts it in the Prologue :

We have but faith : we cannot know ;
For knowledge is of things we see ;
And yet we trust it comes from Thee,
A beam in darkness : let it grow.

Of Hallam he says :

I trust he lives in Thee ;

and though that trust may become so strong as to be a moral certainty, that is technically as far as any one may go. Only thus (cxxx.) can we reach

The truths that never can be proved
Until we close with all we loved,
And all we flow from, soul in soul.

This faith Tennyson feels is as real a function of the human psyche as reason, and, indeed, can spread its wings and fly when reason, crawling on the ground, is hindered by crevices of thought. He says (cxxiv.) :

If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep,
I heard a voice ' believe no more '
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep ;

A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd ' I have felt.'

Yet, when all this has been said about faith, it is reasonable for the poet to draw together intimations of immortality which are part of the experience of life. This Tennyson does.

(a) The first is the character of man (lvi.):

And he, shall he,
Man, her last work, who seem'd so fair,
Be blown about the desert dust,
Or seal'd within the iron hills?

No more? A monster then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime,
That tare each other in their slime,
Were mellow music match'd with him.

The poet feels that there is an intimation of immortality in what he calls twice our 'mystic frame' (xxxiv.):

My own dim life should teach me this,
That life shall live for evermore,
Else earth is darkness at the core,
And dust and ashes all that is.

Perhaps with this may be quoted a passage from 'The Ring,' where the poet speaks of catching a glimpse of the eternal life, for which he thinks man destined, in the flash of a woman's eyes.

And there the light of other life, which lives
Beyond our burial and our buried eyes,
Gleam'd for a moment in her own on earth.

In sect. xiv. we have the same kind of intimation when the poet can scarcely believe that anything so fine as Hallam can have passed into nothingness, and the same thought is found in 'The Two Voices.' Life is too fine a thing to be quenched by death:

A still small voice spake unto me,
'Thou art so full of misery,
Were it not better not to be?'

Then to the still small voice I said:
'Let me not cast in endless shade
What is so wonderfully made.'

And in 'Love and Duty' the poet asks what he feels is an unanswerable question :

And only he, this wonder, dead, become
Mere highway dust ?

Human life frequently, and especially in the case of Hallam, appears so incomplete, that another life seems demanded as we contemplate unfinished courses. He cries (lxxxiii.):

so much to do,
So little done, such things to be,
How know I what had need of thee,
For thou wert strong as thou wert true?

(b) The second intimation is the character of God as the poet conceives it (Prol.) :

Thou wilt not leave us in the dust :
 Thou madest man, he knows not why,
 He thinks he was not made to die ;
 And Thou hast made him : Thou art just.

And again in xxxiv. :

What then were God to such as I ?
 'Twere hardly worth my while to choose
 Of things all mortal, or to use
 A little patience ere I die ;

"Twere best at once to sink to peace,
Like birds the charming serpent draws,
To drop head-foremost in the jaws
Of vacant darkness and to cease.

(c) A third intimation confirmatory of the fact of the life after death is man's own longing for it, not only on his own account, but on that of his friends :

Thy creature, whom I found so fair,
I trust he lives in Thee, and there
I find him worthier to be loved.

And though this longing is not universal, it is widespread

to such an extent that the adjective is not far from the truth, for

Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly long'd for death.
'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
O life, not death, for which we pant ;
More life, and fuller, that I want.

As these intimations support his faith, the poet sees death as a gateway to a fairer life (lxxxii.) :

I wage not any feud with Death
For changes wrought on form and face ;
No lower life that earth's embrace
May breed with him, can fright my faith.

Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks ;
And these are but the shatter'd stalks,
Or ruin'd chrysalis of one.

So men need not fear death. Life, Tennyson says in 'The Holy Grail,' is 'our dull side of death' ; and in a very beautiful figure in 'Lancelot and Elaine,' he tells us that death is

like a friend's voice from a distant field
Approaching thro' the darkness.

II. THE NATURE OF A LIFE AFTER DEATH.—(a) The life after death, in Tennyson's view, is to be a continuation of personal and self-conscious existence. It is not to be absorption into the Infinite, nor what the poet calls the 'general soul.' He says (xlvii.) :

That each, who seems a separate whole,
Should move his rounds, and fusing all
The skirts of self again, should fall
Remerging in the general Soul,

Is faith as vague as all unsweet :
Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside ;
And I shall know him when we meet.

Details of this form the poet does not dwell on. He says (lxx.) :

I cannot see the features right,
When on the gloom I strive to paint
The face I know ; the hues are faint
And mix with hollow masks of night.

Tennyson, it will be noted, does not hold any materialistic conception of the resurrection of the body. At death he feels the body is done with. As he says of Hallam (xviii.) :

From his ashes may be made
The violet of his native land.

But at the same time it seems to him a fearful thing that the friend he knew should now be pure spirit. The conception is

An awful thought, a life removed,
The human-hearted man I loved,
A Spirit, not a breathing voice.

There are moments when he would restore the dead friend to the earthly life (xviii.) :

Ah yet, ev'n yet, if this might be,
I, falling on his faithful heart,
Would breathing thro' his lips impart
The life that almost dies in me.

The poet makes a good deal of the idea of the recognition of, and reunion with, the friend he has lost. In ix. he speaks of

My Arthur, whom I shall not see
Till all my widow'd race be run.

He recognizes the possibility of a long sleep immediately

following death (xliii.). He feels that there may be a further separation as each passes to a different sphere of activity (xlvii.); but at any rate he and his friend will meet and enjoy one another's society, and the word 'endless' seems to make the contemplated separation very remote:

And we shall sit at endless feast,
Enjoying each the other's good.

One of the implicits in the idea of reunion and recognition is, of course, that the soul shall remember the life on earth. This the poet makes clear in xlv. He points out that, if the soul in the next life has forgotten this, it will not recognize itself, but would have to re-acquire the consciousness of individuality and identity; and, in this case, what, in the perspective of eternity, is the good of this life?

Tennyson makes other references to the idea of meeting the loved ones of earth after death. Says Enoch Arden in a passage of deep pathos:

And now there is but one of all my blood
Who will embrace me in the world-to-be.

Balan greets Balin, as they lie a-dying, with the words:

Good-night, true brother, here! good-morrow there!

King Arthur parts with Guinevere with the words:

Hereafter in that world where all are pure
We two may meet before high God.

And Guinevere hopes to

be his mate hereafter in the heavens;

and Evelyn, in 'The Sisters,'

joined,
In and beyond the grave, that one she loved.

III. THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE BEYOND THE GRAVE.—
When we come to ask what the poet paints into his picture

of conditions beyond the grave, we find that he says nothing of hell and little of heaven. Tennyson found it impossible to accept the current orthodoxy of his day on the subject of hell. We are told in the *Memoir* (p. 715) that his son made some reference to it when reading aloud to his father in 1889. The poet said bluntly, 'That is eternal hell which I do not believe.' One day towards the end of his life he made Hallam, his son, look into the Revised Version to see how the translators had interpreted the word *αἰώνιος*, and was very disappointed that the word 'everlasting' had been used instead of 'aeonian,' for he 'never would believe that Christ could preach "everlasting punishment"' (*Memoir*, p. 270).¹

The only references he makes to the current idea of hell are in poems other than *In Memoriam*. In 'Guinevere' he speaks of

the Powers that tend the soul
To help it from the death that cannot die ;

and again, concerning Lancelot,

Pray for him that he 'scape the doom of fire.

In 'Despair' we find :

And we broke away from the Christ, our human brother and friend,
For He spoke, or it seem'd that He spoke, of a Hell without help,
without end.

These are the only references to the outworn conception of hell in Tennyson's poems.

Heaven means to the poet spiritual progress and service. We classify these two ideas under the title 'Heaven' because they represent happiness, and for the time being we are accepting the rough classification of experiences after death

¹ When Aubrey de Vere was giving the poet his views on eternal punishment, Tennyson laughed him away from the subject, and said, 'You mean by eternal punishment listening to Huxley and Tyndall disputing eternally on the non-existence of God.'

which are happy under heaven, and those which are unhappy under hell. Progress, growth, and development for the soul after death are assumed. Note, in the passage just quoted,

in that world *where all are pure,*

and the line

there

I find him *worthier to be loved*

in the Prologue.

Sect. lxxxii. implies the same idea :

Eternal process moving on,

From state to state the spirit walks.

Hallam is imagined as exerting his quickened powers in some kind of heavenly service :

And doubtless unto thee is given

A life that bears immortal fruit

In those great offices that suit

The full-grown energies of heaven.

And this idea means much to the poet. He never dwells on the thought of rest in the world to be. The line

Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest

expresses an exceptional thought. Tennyson generally describes the condition of the soul in the other world as one of activity. So in 'Wages,' Virtue

desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,

To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a summer sky :

Give her the wages of going on, and not to die.

Sir John Franklin is pictured, in the lines written for his cenotaph in Westminster Abbey, as still engaged on the work of exploration to which he gave his life :

Not here ! the white North has thy bones ; and thou,

Heroic sailor-soul,

Art passing on thine happier voyage now

Toward no earthly pole.

Of the Duke of Wellington, in the famous ode, the poet says :

There must be other nobler work to do
Than when he fought at Waterloo.

Progress and service : these are the two words which summarize Tennyson's conception of the condition of the soul after death. It is a worthy conception both in its restraint and in its content.

No sudden heaven, nor sudden hell, for man,
But thro' the Will of One who knows and rules—
And utter knowledge is but utter love—
Aeonian Evolution, swift or slow,
Thro' all the Spheres—an ever opening height,
An ever lessening earth. *(The Ring)*

IV. Naturally our next inquiry must concern the CONSUMMATION OF THE LIFE AFTER DEATH. What is all this progress tending towards ? What is the mighty cause in which this service is rendered ?

There seems to be ever in the poet's mind a climax to the processes which began here, and which he thinks are to be continued after death. His mind keeps (in cxxxi.) a central place for

one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves ;

though he leaves us sharing his own doubt as to what that event actually is. Tennyson seems to believe in a further life in other worlds, and the soul passing from embodiment to embodiment upon them :

From orb to orb, from veil to veil,

' through all the spheres,' ' from state to state,' ' thy vain worlds '—these phrases suggest such an idea. Even the reunion with Hallam may after a time be broken by the latter

passing of necessity to further spheres. In xlvii. he says :

He seeks at least
Upon the last [of many existences] and sharpest height,
Before the spirits fade away,
Some-landing place, to clasp and say,
'Farewell! We lose ourselves in light.'

If we hazarded a speculation as to what the poet means by that divine event which is to mark the consummation of the after-life, we would suggest that it connotes the gathering in, after a purifying process, of all souls, and the completion of the long history of the perfecting of the spirit of man. This is what the theologian calls the theory of Universalism. Tennyson—if we accept *In Memoriam* as containing his views, as he told us to do—definitely accepts this position, basing it on the element of divinity in man (liv.) :

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill.

And, as we have said, this wish is based on the divinity of humanity (lv.) :

The wish, that of the living whole
No life may fail beyond the grave,
Derives it not from what we have
The likest God within the soul ?

Doubts assail him, for nature at any rate seems 'careless of the single life,' and the poet falters, but rests in the *hope* that the whole race, possibly after ages of suffering, will at last emerge purified and entire :

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope.

We have surely the same idea in the closing lines of 'The Vision of Sin':

At last I heard a voice upon the slope
Cry to the summit, 'Is there any hope?'
To which an answer peal'd from that high land,
But in a tongue no man could understand;
And on the glimmering limit far withdrawn
God made Himself an awful rose of dawn.

And in the closing lines of 'The Progress of Spring':

And men have hopes, which race the restless blood,
That after many changes may succeed
Life, which is Life indeed.

So also in 'The Making of Man':

Man as yet is being made, and ere the crowning Age of ages,
Shall not aeon after aeon pass and touch him into shape?
All about him shadow still, but, while the races flower and fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade,
Till the peoples all are one, and all their voices blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker 'It is finish'd. Man is made.'

V. Our last section must be devoted to the question of the poet's thought concerning the POSSIBLE RELATION OF THE LIVING WITH THE DEAD. The human desire to peer into the life lived by the dead finds expression in the poet's pages. We have, for instance, the exquisite lyric, 'O that 'twere possible,' containing the lines:

Ah Christ, that it were possible
For one short hour to see
The souls we loved, that they might tell us
What and where they be.

And it is interesting to notice that, although doubts often assail him, he does believe the dead to be very near those they have loved on earth. On the first Christmas after

Hallam's death, as they weave the holly round the Christmas hearth, and make 'vain pretence of gladness,' it is (xxx.)

with an awful sense
Of one mute Shadow watching all.

And the feeling that the dead are silent watchers of earth's activities is expressed again in lxiii. :

So mayst thou watch me where I weep,

and in the 'Ode on the Great Duke' and 'The May Queen.' Though the poet speaks of it as an 'awful sense,' yet in another mood he desires the sense of the presence of the dead, and prays to receive it. A very beautiful section expresses this longing, beginning (l.) :

Be near me when my light is low,
When the blood creeps, and the nerves prick
And tingle ; and the heart is sick,
And all the wheels of Being slow.

And this desire holds, even though another question arises (li.) :

Do we indeed desire the dead
Should still be near us at our side ?
Is there no baseness we would hide ?
No inner vileness that we dread ?

For the experience of the sense of nearness will be one that is profitable and helpful, since

There must be wisdom with great Death :
The dead shall look me thro' and thro' ;

for they view things

With larger other eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all.

A question of intense interest is whether the spirits of the dead, even if near, can communicate with those who

are still living the earth life, and vice versa. The poet's answer would seem to be that if the word 'communion' be used instead of the word 'communication,' then there is a link between souls on this side of the grave and on that. The poet says (lxxxv.) :

' I watch thee from the quiet shore ;
Thy spirit up to mine can reach ;
But in dear words of human speech
We two communicate no more.'

In sect. xciii. the poet dismisses the idea that the dead ever make their presence known by any vision of themselves to the outward eye, but feels that the sense of presence can be realized most fully when all the faculties are quiescent, when, in a spirit of loving meditation on the dead, the human spirit leans out of the window of that prison-house, the body (xciv.) :

In vain shalt thou, or any, call
The spirits from their golden day,
Except, like them, thou too canst say,
My spirit is at peace with all.

Yet no vision is to be expected (xciii.) :

I shall not see thee. Dare I say
No spirit ever brake the band
That stays him from the native land
Where first he walk'd when claspt in clay ?

The experience will be superior to the vision of a ghost. It will be the nearness of the loved personality himself :

No visual shade of some one lost,
But he, the Spirit himself, may come
Where all the nerve of sense is dumb ;
Spirit to Spirit, Ghost to Ghost.

The poet pleads for this communion, this sense of nearness :

O, therefore from thy sightless range
With gods in un conjectured bliss,
O, from the distance of the abyss
Of tenfold-complicated change,

Descend, and touch, and enter ; hear
 The wish too strong for words to name ;
 That in this blindness of the frame
 My Ghost may feel that thine is near.

Sect. xv. gives us in beautiful language the experience which the poet had of his friend's nearness. With some friends he has been taking his evening meal out in the garden at Somersby. In the quiet twilight of the summer evening they sing old songs together. Then the night falls.

The trees
 Laid their dark arms about the field.

The other friends gradually leave the poet alone in the darkness and retire to bed. Light after light goes out in the house, accentuating the sense of loneliness. He reads over again some of the letters of the dead friend. 'The silent-speaking words' have a strange effect on him, and a climax is reached when the poet feels that Hallam is *there*.

So word by word, and, line by line,
 The dead man touch'd me from the past;
 And all at once it seem'd at last
 The living soul was flash'd on mine.

It is a wonderful experience. The poet during its course seems to catch a vision of ultimate reality ; seems to see law, meaning, and order in what at other times had seemed unintelligible. Then the trance ends, and leaves a doubt in his mind as to whether it was veridical ; but the impression of it remains in his mind, and he cannot find words to describe it adequately.

In the last four stanzas of the section he describes the passing of the trance in language which Professor A. C. Bradley calls 'one of the most wonderful descriptive passages in all poetry . . . the breeze seeming to recall the coming and passing of the wind of the spirit in the trance, and the mingling of the dim lights of east and west being seen as

that meeting of life and death which has just been experienced as the precursor of an endless union to come.'¹

Probably the poet is referring to this trance experience in sect. cxxii. :

Oh, wast thou with me, dearest, then.

And he craves a repetition of the experience :

If thou wert with me, and the grave
Divide us not, be with me now,
And enter in at breast and brow,
Till all my blood, a fuller wave,

Be quicken'd with a livelier breath.

The same thought of a kind of spiritual communion without words or version seems to be suggested in less worthy poetry in 'The May Queen' :

If I can I'll come again, mother, from out my resting-place ;
Tho' you'll not see me, mother, I shall look upon your face ;
Tho' I cannot speak a word, I shall harken what you say,
And be often, often with you when you think I'm far away.

Tennyson, it seems to the writer, gathered the grain in spiritualism and cast the chaff away. To him communion seemed higher, deeper, closer, than communication. The latter seemed to degrade the former ; the former to be beyond the need of the latter. He was repelled by the paraphernalia of spiritualism. 'I am convinced,' he says, in the *Memoir*, 'that God and the ghosts of men would choose something other than table legs through which to speak to the heart of man'. Yet the dead were near, and were even sympathetic with the living (lxxxv.) :

' Can clouds of nature stain
The starry clearness of the free ?
How is it ? Canst thou feel for me
Some painless sympathy with pain ? '

¹ A. C. Bradley, *Commentary on 'In Memoriam'*, 191-2.

² *Memoir*, p. 705.

And the answer is in the affirmative, since those on the other side have a far-off glimpse of the 'serene result of all' earth's striving.

The above arrangement gives us a convenient way of observing the scheme of Tennyson's after-world. A careful reading of the poet's complete works would seem to point to the fact that it is a consistent scheme. By this is meant a scheme consistent with itself. It does not posit in one regard a position which another view contradicts. The only possible exception to this consistency which the writer has been able to discover is that in certain places Tennyson imagines the dust of the dead body as being able to 'hear' what is going on.

My dust would hear her and beat,
Had I lain for a century dead ;
Would start and tremble under her feet,
And blossom in purple and red.

And again, in the section in 'Maud' beginning (v.) 'Dead, long dead,' the same idea occurs. It does not occur in *In Memoriam*, and in the writer's estimation seems of little moment. It is a poetical idea, not a philosophical idea.

Apart from this the scheme is consistent. The poet nowhere contradicts it or alters its main structural thoughts. And since he told his son Hallam to answer queries regarding his faith by telling correspondents that they would find what he believed in *In Memoriam*, we may take it that the above scheme represents his own personal belief regarding the life after death.

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD.

THE MYSTERY OF PAINLESSNESS

OF the mystery of pain it may be said, with pathetic emphasis, we have heard more than enough. It is the favourite theme of all opponents of the Christian faith, and the hardest problem for sincere believers. Sir Leslie Stephen declared that the sight of the world's tragedy made him an Agnostic; and the bitterest note in Mr. Blatchford's once popular diatribe was that 'the world is full of sorrow, of pain, of hatred and crime, and strife and war. If God is a loving heavenly Father, why did He build a world on cruel lines?' Sir Francis Younghusband, whose ability and sincerity no one can call in question, found himself at last, after long struggle, overwhelmed by the mystery of suffering, avowing with sadness that 'the view of life which maintains that we, either as individuals or as a race, are under the protection of some external Providence, will not fit the facts of our experience.' So that Dr. Peake's summary in his volume upon this theme is all too true: 'I am only one of many for whom the problem of pain constitutes the most powerful objection to a theism adequate to our deepest needs.' All who have left youth behind them, and are facing life's developments with clear mind and tender heart, must sympathize with this attitude. The very name of 'cancer'—not to mention other dire diseases—makes one shudder with harrowing memories, if not also with depressing fears for living loved ones. Mercifully we are comforted with such hopes as the world has never before known, thanks to the inestimable devotion of such men as Pasteur, Lister, Ross, Rogers, and a host of others, through whom diseases are being overcome and health established to an unprecedented extent. Typhoid fever, scarlet fever, small pox, diphtheria, are being reduced to a minimum. Plague is seldom heard of; and, even for lepers, hope has blossomed

into wonderful fruitage in numberless cases of complete recovery. All this, it is very necessary to point out, in direct and emphatic contradiction to the modern craze which calls itself 'Christian Science.' For this would fanatically stop all these noble servants of mankind, shut up all our medical missions, and block the path of still greater improvement, by the incoherent and muddled metaphysics of a book. Manifestly it is only on such lines of developing hygiene and medical care as Sir George Newman, Sir Arthur Newsholme, and Dr. Saleeby represent, that all human hopes for the further reduction of the mystery of pain depend. Already the span of life is so lengthened that the child born to-day has the fair prospect of at least twelve years more of healthy life than his grandfather had when he arrived. Indeed, all the future is brightening in the way Sir E. Ray Lankester so forcibly urges in his Romanes Lecture.

Meanwhile, many painful questions remain, and some of our most distressing problems seem unanswerable. It is, however, itself a problem, amounting to a mystery, that amidst all who are thus troubled, either sadly and patiently as is the genuine Christian, or bitterly and blatantly as are some disbelievers, scarcely any take, apparently, the least notice of, let alone do justice to, another and far greater mystery, compared with which the whole mystery of pain is but as a shrimp-pool by the side of the ocean. After close acquaintance with the literature of disbelief for half a century, I cannot recall one single case in which any fair or worthy reference has been made to the undeniable but immeasurable mystery of painlessness through which humanity continues to exist from day to day, and from age to age. That it is none the less real, ceaseless, measureless, unquestionable, and inexplicable, whilst giving the lie direct to the above-quoted suggestion that this world is 'built on cruel lines,' may here be shown in an outline which only needs truthful and accurate expansion, to make its

witness in support of a humble Christian faith, alike unmistakable and invaluable.

First, as to the great world of life below the human. When Haeckel quoted Schopenhauer with such approval, to the effect that this world was merely a 'cockpit of tortured and suffering beings, who can only survive by destroying each other,' it needed but the observation of an hour, anywhere, to see the utter falsity of such a gibe. Here it must suffice to quote Darwin's own summary: 'When we reflect on this struggle, we may console ourselves with the full belief that the war of nature is not incessant, that no fear is felt, that death is generally swift, and that the vigorous, the healthy, and the happy, survive and multiply.' How emphatically this testimony is endorsed by such competent witnesses as Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace and Mr. E. Kay Robinson must be left to other occasions. For the moment, we must confine our attention to human beings—although, *mutatis mutandis*, what will be pointed out applies equally to the whole living world, and overwhelming illustrations thereof could be supplied. But it will be more than enough to appreciate the truth as it applies to men, women, and children. Such appreciation will, however, require much closer acquaintance with the actual facts of every day's life than is customary. But it is only through the genuine, careful, honest, and thorough study of these facts, that the right standpoint can be obtained for the just comparison of the two great mysteries of painlessness and pain, amidst which our life's brief hour is spent.

In proportion to the clear thoroughness of such appreciation of the commonest daily actualities of our own existence, will be the irresistible and overwhelming conclusion specified above. Even this: that when the mystery of pain is taken at its worst—to be quite sure, let us say its awful worst—it is but a trifle, when put into fair comparison with that ceaseless and unmeasured mystery of painlessness which the overwhelming majority of 1,800,000,000 of human beings

on this planet, at any given moment, exemplify. It is confessedly a tremendous avowal, to estimate human pain as a comparative trifle. Far too tremendous to be hastily made, or easily accepted. In the light of much experience it seems cruelly incredible. But if it be true—as will here be shown—it is all the answer that need be given by a reasonable faith to the difficulties of disbelief, whether they be virulent or tearful. It is indeed sufficient to justify and confirm the strong avowal of the late Sir Henry Thompson, who set himself the task of twenty years—‘solely for the purpose of seeking the truth for my own personal needs and enlightenment’—to face all the facts of life, amid all the special opportunities that came necessarily to a widely-known expert surgeon. Here is his deliberate conclusion: ‘I was now assured, by evidence which I could not resist, that all which man—with his limited knowledge and experience—has learned to regard as due to Supreme Power and Wisdom, although immeasurably beyond his comprehension, is also associated with the exercise of an Absolutely Beneficent influence over all living things, of every grade, which exist within its range.’ That is at all events a firm natural foundation for a faith which would be as humble and sincere as intelligent.

The well-worn assumptions of Agnosticism that, if God were really the loving heavenly Father revealed in Jesus Christ, there would be either no pain at all or else only the wicked would be ill, whilst all good people would be healthy, have been shown again and again to be as irrational in philosophy, as contrary to Christian faith. Whilst in regard to the much more difficult and often harrowing question as to the incidence and intensity of individual suffering, we are still in the same position as the prophets and psalmists of old. The pleading of Jeremiah (xii. 1); the bewilderment of the Psalmist (lxxiii. 1-14, &c.); and the entreaty of the Apostle (2 Cor. xii. 8); all repeat themselves in our modern experience, with still wider and deeper significance. With

our present faculties, and in this life only, numberless cases of poignant but undeserved suffering will ever remain inexplicable. Why such a saintly and devoted woman as Mrs. Booth, or such a noble and inspiring character as Sir Henry Jones, should be subjected to the horrors of cancer, we shall never know on this side the grave. But if our faith remains, we can wait with patience for the revelations of the other side. The question of questions is whether we can retain such faith, in face of all those happenings which thus trouble us, and which are so gruesomely tabulated by the clever and irrepressible 'Rationalist' Press. That is indeed the crux of Christian Theism.

And this, in plain terms, is the answer. If, on rational principles, faith is shaken by the mystery of pain, upon the very same principles, it is restored, established, and made unshakable by the greater mystery of painlessness. If God is rightly credited with all that dark side of human existence which is not due to moral evil, then also, in all honesty, He must also be regarded as the ultimate Source of all that bright side of human being which is manifestly not man's own creation. When, however, these two are fairly compared, it becomes plain beyond denial, that the bright side exceeds the dark as truly, and as much, as the light and heat of the midday sun exceed the cold illumination of the nightly moon.

But more than that. If we were here considering the whole mystery of good, as against that of evil, such a comparison would be enormously enhanced. For in spite of all the ancient theological depressing estimates of human nature, from Augustine through Calvin to this hour, and all the deplorable and degrading publication of humanity's worst in our daily Press, the amount of moral good ceaselessly energizing in mankind immeasurably (*sic*) exceeds that of evil; and there are valid reasons for believing that such excess will grow from more to more with every generation.

Here, for the moment, we will close our eyes to all but

physical facts, and base our estimates on these alone. We will take, as a typical case, the daily life of an average, normal, healthy man, who is not ruining his body by evil habits, and note carefully what it involves. Of all the lamentable blunders in the 'Authorized Version' of the Bible, still read in public, the reference in Phil. iii. 21 to 'this vile body,' is one of the worst. It is indeed, in to-day's speech, a vile mistake. For no falser estimate is conceivable. Whenever such a misrepresentation is uttered in public, the reader ought to be compelled to follow it up by reading Psalm cxxxix., which is both more true and more significant now than when it was written some two millenniums and a half ago. We will survey that estimate for a moment, as we needs must do, in the fuller and more piercing light of modern science.

With just one caveat. All that here follows relates to the body of a man. But the most wonderful as well as beautiful thing in creation, as known to us, is the body of a woman. And the crowning mystery of mysteries, far too marvellous and holy for description here, is that process of gestation which some pious fanatics have sought to besmirch with evil, by misapplying to it the remorseful wail of an adulterer in Psalm li. 5. Even the throes of childbirth become, as Jesus said (John xvi. 21), but a transient trifle compared with the following years of painless bodily peace, with the added spiritual joy of motherhood, which in the vast majority of cases ensue.

Leaving the appreciation of all that to its proper occasion, let us now consider what really transpires in the lesser marvel of the daily life of an average man, or woman, or child. Out of every hundred persons met in an ordinary day's intercourse, it is more than probable that ninety of them, at least, have never given a moment's thought to their bodies all day long—with just the exception of satisfying a healthy appetite at meal-times. How the appetite comes, or how food does satisfy it, never occurs to them to ask.

In a word, they have not known, through all the hours, that they had a body at all. That is the blessed painlessness which we call 'health.' In good health no man knows, at any given moment, where any part of his body is. It is the special business of toothache, or lumbago, or gout, or neuralgia, to inform him where certain portions of his body are, in order that he may pay them a little more attention. But the ordinary blessed unconsciousness of the body, the painlessness which sets him free to use all his thoughts and energies in higher directions, is naturally and universally forgotten. So that it becomes necessary to ask what is really taking place in this marvellous microcosm, whereby all the day's activities become possible. Common experience says—nothing; business says—never mind; current convention says—it doesn't matter; Godless superficiality says—there is nothing worth noticing. But let us see—at all events in part. The whole truth—even in summary—as to all the physiological intricacies of even one hour's healthy life, cannot be told, either here or anywhere. It will suffice for our purpose to take just a very brief though careful glance at unquestionable facts which relate only to the main elements, in the ordinary daily life of any and every ordinary man or woman.

The structure of the human body is scientifically divided into distinct systems, such as bony, muscular, vascular, respiratory, digestive, &c. But for the sake of the general reader we will be content to put the case popularly, albeit none the less accurately.

(1) For a man to stand upright, let alone walk or work, there must be a strong and firm though light bony skeleton. Thus he has some 250 bones wonderfully tied together by ligaments, whereby the 33 vertebrae of the spine, 64 bones of the upper limbs, 62 in the lower limbs, with 24 ribs, and 22 skull bones, are all made to subserve one organic whole in a fashion which, if fully considered, would alone justify the whole contention of these pages.

But (2) bones, even if tied together, could do nothing without muscles, of which there are at least 500, with accompanying tendons. Does any imitator of Paderewski ever think how it is that he can practise for hours on stretch, or any admirer of Kreisler ask how that combined and effective motion of fingers, wrist, and forearm are possible? Probably not. Yet it were all impossible but for the marvellous conjuncture of twenty bones in each hand, tied together firmly with eight more in the wrist, and three more above them. Fifty little bones in constant, complex, rapid motion one with another, and yet no friction, no inflammation! How is that accomplished? Only by means of such self-lubrication as no man-made machine ever exhibited or can ever imitate. A hundred thousand humans congregate to witness a 'cup tie' football match. Does any one of them spend a single moment in asking how it comes to pass that men can so eagerly run, and so violently kick, or strangely twist, without putting all their limbs out of joint? Probably not. If, however, by some benevolent power, they could be compelled to study fairly the ball and socket joints of only the shoulder and the hip, they would fairly hold their breath at every match they afterwards watched.

(3) But the inscrutable development of bone and muscle could never take place without blood. What, then, is blood? Not a red fluid, as children and most men think; but a colourless fluid containing little microscopic bodies which make it appear red. How microscopic they are, may be noted from the fact that in one drop of blood there are at least 5,000,000 of them, besides some 30,000 other little white bodies of greatest importance—for they are nature's scavengers and our valiant defenders from disease. But consider now only the red. The ordinary man, weighing say twelve stones, has in his veins, according to Professor Huxley—a competent observer—some 300,000,000,000. And if these were just taken out and laid flat, in touch with one another, they would cover a space of 3,300 square

yards. Whilst if they were arranged in a single line, just touching, they would reach 200,000 miles. The history of their birth, and death, and active life, cannot be told here—but it alone would justify our main contention.

(4) Every child now knows that this blood 'circulates.' But does the average man either know, or care in the least, how this circulation is maintained? He has never yet known that he has a heart, so painlessly has its mighty work been done. But, of a truth, there is, proportionately to its size, no mightier work being done on earth. A little force-pump, six inches by four, beating—why and how?—some seventy times in every minute—that is, 37,000,000 times in a year. So that if a man should live to be seventy, his heart will have driven his blood, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. at each stroke, some 3,000,000,000 times, and he has known nothing of it. Yet every twenty-four hours, this marvellous little engine has done work equivalent to lifting 32 tons a foot from the ground. So that in the seventy years it has lifted at least 840,000 foot tons. During the same time, blood will thus have been made to travel in his body not less than 25,000 miles.

(5) Meanwhile, another marvel, equally great and inscrutable, goes on. Unless a man has an 'attack' of indigestion, he never thinks what becomes of his food when once he has swallowed it. The threefold digestion in mouth, stomach, and intestines, which is absolutely necessary for his daily life, never occurs to him. It all counts for nothing. Indeed, Mr. Blatchford, when trying to explain away conscience, in one of his books, remarked that it was 'no more mysterious than the stomach'—as if the stomach and digestion were perfectly simple! Whereas the ultimate mystery of the stomach, along with that of the duodenum, the pancreas, the small and large intestine, is as insoluble, in spite of all our modern knowledge, as any miracle in the Bible, or any difficulty in Christian doctrine. What does the average man know, or care, for the fact that his food has to pass

through these tubes to the length of some thirty feet? Whilst if the wonderful and beautiful little 'villi' of the small intestine alone were smoothed out, they would make a surface of more than fifty square yards. Over all these, absorption goes on, though how no man really knows. Yet every day, in these realms alone, there are millions of men and women who painlessly eat and drink, and think no more about it.

(6) They also breathe; and this, again, excites no astonishment or thankfulness—until they get bronchitis, or pneumonia. Yet the average man breathes 1,000 times every hour, and inhales 600 gallons of air; that is, 14,400 gallons in a day. He has no choice herein; if he would live, he must breathe. But, with almost all men and women, there it ends. It is nothing to any one of them that, in order to 'purify the blood,' through the oxygen of the air, there must be, in the ever-forgotten lungs, not less than 700,000,000 air cells, which, if spread out flat, would give a total surface of 120 square yards—that is, enough to cover the whole floor of a room twelve feet square. These cells contain also absolutely necessary capillaries—tiny tubes—which, if stretched out in a single line, would reach across the Atlantic. Does 'the man in the street' ever think of this? No; he just uses all this wondrous apparatus 20,000 times every twenty-four hours, and treats it all as nothing.

(7) Meanwhile, however, men and women do their daily work. Which means that they 'use their brains.' In our time there is ever-increasing need of brain-work; and no summary can be made of the extent to which, from the child at school to the University professor, or the City merchant, or the Prime Minister, brain-work is called for. But what is this 'brain' from which so much is expected, and by which so much is accomplished? It is, to look at, a round, wrinkled, pinkish, flabby mass, weighing about three pounds. But the wonder of its working is beyond all science to understand—though much is now known of which our

fathers never dreamed. It requires a whole library to do it justice. So that here it must suffice to point out that our daily work—i.e. all our thoughts, and words, and deeds—depends upon what happens in the mere thin skin of this brain, the 'grey layer,' which is only about one-fifth of an inch in thickness, but contains some 9,000,000,000 cells. All these are in definite connexion with the innumerable nerve-fibres which constitute the internal or white matter. But this 'cerebrum,' or large brain—with its two hemispheres—is accompanied by a smaller portion, or 'cerebellum,' at the lower back part of the head. Ask your highly-paid captain, or dribbler, at 'Rugger' or 'Soccer,' what his 'cerebellum' is, and he will think you mad. Yet the insertion of a needle into certain parts of it would stop his football for ever; and without the marvel of its ceaseless work, he would be more helpless than a baby.

(8) For the fuller appreciation of the human brain, reference must of course be made to the many books now accessible on that theme. But we must even here make mention of 'nerves'—for, whether the reader be 'nervous' or not, it is through the measureless mystery of the ramification of nerves, all over his body, that his life is possible, let alone enjoyable. The 'spinal cord' is soon said; but its marvels are endless. Through it, minute and delicate nerve-threads are conveyed directly from all the body to the brain, and from the brain to all parts of the body—four of the former—'afferent'—to every one of the latter—'efferent.' Does that mean anything? Verily it does; seeing that whole age-long controversies about 'free will' have somehow to be solved there. More than 10,000,000 nerve-fibres, more delicate than all the wit of man can imitate, are at our service every hour of the day.

(9) Again. We pity the blind. But, out of a myriad men with good sight, are there ten—excluding doctors and scientists—who appreciate what that means—even if they

only had, each, one eye? A beautiful little ball in a tough protecting skin; provided with two lenses; filled with transparent jelly; and having at the back twelve distinct layers of delicate nerve-layers, containing—though only one hundred and twentieth of an inch thick—3,000,000 rods and 4,000,000 cones, all of which are absolutely necessary for clear vision, by means of ethereal vibrations conveyed to the base of the brain by the optic nerve, with its 500,000 fibres. With this wonderful organ we also distinguish colour. Only, in order to appreciate the beauty of a scarlet geranium, it has to be sensitive to ethereal vibrations at the rate of 500,000,000,000,000 per second; and if we admire a violet, then half as many more vibrations must be appreciable. Is that all? No; it is not an approach to the marvels of one healthy human eye. But have we not two? How, then, with all the indescribable complications of one, do two eyes so work together as to give us stereoscopic vision? How many of us are thankful that they do?

(10) But to be deaf is, some say, as great a calamity as to be blind. Does the ordinary man and woman ever think, then, of the mystery which enshrouds their powers of hearing? No; they are so engrossed with their 'musical evenings,' and their 'wireless,' that they have neither time nor thought for that. It is sheer pain to one who does know something about it, to have to dismiss it here with a mere reminder. For the real wonder-mystery of the 'internal' ear—which completes the function of the 'external' and 'middle' ear—is far too great for a few words. The musician, as a rule, never thinks of it—takes it all for granted; forgetting at the same time all that has to go on in his own 'mind.' Then the wireless enthusiast praises his 'phones,' because they are so sensitive that they can represent vibrations which only occupy the 100,000,000th part of an inch; quite ignoring the fact that the normal human ear is just one million times more sensitive than that.

(11) When, moreover, through the interworking of such

true though inconceivable sensitiveness he hears, in his 'set,' Sir Oliver Lodge's talks upon the ether, does it occur to him to ask how the famous physicist can speak at all? No; we talk, and talk, and talk, all day long, without knowing or caring that all our speech wholly and only depends upon the exact working of a little portion of one side only of our brain. Injure 'Broca's convolution,' and no preacher would then ever deliver another sermon, or friend say another word to friend. Not to mention 'larynx,' and vocal cords!

(12) Meanwhile, good spirits are said to depend upon the liver—and advertisements without number urge their pills, or salts, as the only panacea for happy life. But do they know, or care, anything about the liver? No; not they. Their one concern is to relieve you—of your money. But there is something to consider. For if a healthy liver is a *sine qua non* of happiness, what does it mean? Only that a certain mass of brownish substance must be in working order. That is to say, 14,000,000,000,000 lobules, each containing some 300,000,000,000,000 atoms, must all be alive, and doing their part individually; and then—without strikes or quarrels—must join together to produce that strange but most useful fluid that we call 'bile,' without which we could not live at all. The old humorous reply to the question, 'Is life worth living?' has indeed as much truth in it physically as morally—'Depends on the liver.'

Here, however, we must close our rough and superficial but truthful summary. The one thing which must not be overlooked is that *all this*—and all that it stands for—is indeed 'truthful.' These facts and figures are not fictions. They represent realities. They signify the *unquestionable actualities of every painless hour*. It is for the reader to sum up and ask himself how many such hours he has had. For myself, I can but record—with thankfulness beyond words—that I have had some 700,000 such hours. So, then, as a Rationalist, no less than as a Christian, I am bound to consider the significance of all these hours, in the light of

our modern knowledge, even more than could the writer of Psalm cxxxix. And when keen problems of pain, that I can neither deny nor evade, compass me round, and I am tempted to echo the other psalmist who cried—in Moffatt's rendering,—

I almost slipped, I nearly lost my footing,
In anger at the godless and their arrogance,
At the sight of their success.
No pain is theirs, but sound strong health.
'Tis all in vain I kept my heart from stain, kept my life clean
When all day long blows fall upon me,
And every dawn brought me some chastening,—

I am bound by facts—facts which are simple, actual, scientific, daily, personal, and innumerable realities—to put into his words a meaning he could not foresee.

So I thought of it, thinking to fathom it,
—But sorely it troubled me,
Till I found out God's secret.

For that 'secret' to me is Sir Henry Thompson's, rather than the Psalmist's—not the sure and swift mortality of the wicked, but the universal beneficence of the divine intention and ceaseless working, when not marred by human sin or folly. It is to this conclusion that one so far from Christianity as Sir E. Ray Lankester testifies, in his Romanes Lecture: 'In the extra-human system of nature, there is no disease. . . . The adjustment of organisms to their surroundings is so severely complete in Nature, apart from Man, that diseases are unknown as constant and normal phenomena, under those conditions. . . . It seems to be a legitimate view that every disease to which animals (and probably plants also) are liable, excepting as a transient and very exceptional occurrence, is due to Man's interference.'

There are in this whole divine secret of normal painlessness, at least seven things to be considered and duly appreciated. Here they can only be mentioned. If for every event there

must be, so long as we are sane, an adequate cause, then we have to ask ourselves: (1) How all these marvels in our ordinary bodies have come to be what they are. Evolution, be it observed, does not dismiss the God of the New Testament, but finds Him still nearer and more potent. (2) How, in the marvel-mystery of functioning, each of them is maintained from hour to hour. (3) How, in their incalculable number, they come to be so co-ordinated as to form one indescribably complex but definitely unified human body. (4) How all this co-ordination is carried on from day to day, without our knowing it, or willing it. Our 'sympathetic' system does its work best normally, without our conscious interference at all. (5) How, when such portions as we do partly control become temporarily used up, and we are 'tired,' the insoluble mystery of sleep restores their strength and renews our life. (6) How, when noxious influences—germs—attack us, or lie in wait for us with ill intent, as they continually do, our 'phagocytes,' unbidden, watch to defend us. And how, when accident or injury overtakes us, these internal renewers—unless tied up by the folly of alcohol—come immediately, and unasked, to build up the tissues again 'by first intention.' (7) Then, last, but certainly not least, we have to note that in all this there is absolutely no 'respect of persons.' It is all as true for the meanest pauper as for any king or queen. So that, if the world's population is now accurately estimated at 1,800,000,000, then, with comparatively little exception, this mystery of painlessness has to be, and is, repeated thus often day by day, hour by hour, throughout humanity. It is the norm of human life, whatever the exceptions may amount to.

Our modern organs, in churches and halls, are wonders of structure and adaptation. Yet the very best of them, even such a one as Messrs. J. A. Meale, or Bernard Johnson, or Alfred Hollins, would delight to use, is but a clumsy toy, compared with the normal human body. Suppose, then,

that one or two notes in such an instrument should 'cypher,' or some pneumatic tube or 'spotted metal' pipe out of the 10,000 go wrong, would any one, short of a lunatic, cry out that either there had been no organ-builder, or that he must have been knave, if not fool? Yet that is what the favourite indictment of disbelief comes to, in face of all the facts of human existence which include the universal and continual use of an instrument infinitely more marvellous than any organ or machine that the wit of man has conceived, or will ever construct.

It is not religion, therefore, so much as common sense; not sentiment, but honesty, which cries—'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits!'

As to what is in us beyond the brain, or what will be hereafter beyond the grave, nothing is here said. All that has been mentioned is but as the porch of a palace, but none the less wonderful or significant for that. Tennyson did it scanty justice when he wrote:

The Lord let the house of a brute to the soul of a man,
And the man said, Am I your debtor?
And the Lord said, Keep it as clean as you can,
And then I will let you a better.

The apostle was much nearer the truth when he wrote, not 'the house of a brute,' but 'Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit, who dwells in you? Glorify God, therefore, in your body.' And that certainly is, in itself, sufficient and final contradiction of the fanatic modern cult which, under the false name of 'Christian Science,' tells those who should know better, that the human body is a 'myth' and must only be ignored. Much rather do Dr. Macfie's words apply to all the preceding: 'These are but broken glimpses, incoherent fragments of the truth: but such glimpses and such fragments are enough to save us from despair, and to give us a belief that death may be the portal to a yet 'fuller life.'

FRANK BALLARD.

DIET AND EVOLUTION

The problem of nutrition is one for which mass production of research is needed.—Mr. J. B. S. Haldane.

EVOLUTION is a mighty teaching, which must affect human affairs at every touch or turn. If we have hitherto failed to see this, it is because some of the most important facts have not been rightly apprehended, and because the attention has been riveted on secondary and comparatively unimportant instead of primary and really vital matters. Foremost of vital issues on which attention should be focused is why protoplasm should have developed into the organic life of the world along two main lines, and only two—the animal and the vegetable.

If we associate this great dispensation with another—according to one of the most widely-accepted generalizations of science—namely, that plant and animal are physiological complements, which exist by complementing each other's needs, we may reach the inference that we are 'intended' by Nature to rely for our sustenance chiefly, if not exclusively, upon the vegetable kingdom. This view can, indeed, be powerfully upheld, although the more complete justification involves a new and unorthodox interpretation of the evolutionary process—one that implies the recognition of organic interdependence and of the immanence in the organic world of the problem of good and evil. Let us see.

The first rumblings of a dietetic revolution in biological science may be said to have begun with the discovery of the vitamins—the accessory food substances, as they have been called. Through the widespread interest in these, the 'naturally-intended' foods, such as grains, fruits, and vegetables, have come to be increasingly respected, and 'scientific' food reform may be said to have commenced. But the reformation, thus begun, is not without influence

upon the wider field of evolution and of natural ethics, as is here to be shown. Hitherto orthodox biologists have proclaimed that their science is beyond good and evil, that Nature is entirely indifferent to moral issues, that biological progress is best attained by the stronger devouring the weaker—digestive transformation, as it is usually called. Learnedly they talked about the 'survival of the fittest,' yet, as now emerges, had not the slightest conception of what it is that constitutes fitness. Were it not that the menace of cancer had at long last enforced a more searching inquiry into the nature of health and disease, we should still go on prating about the 'operation of natural selection' and 'the survival of the fittest' without even the slightest notion of how fitness is achieved or wherein it actually consists.

What have cancer researchers to tell us? They have been forced to the realization that obedience to the moral law is the only way to health, that there can be no genuine fitness amongst men or organisms, except through observance of the moral and bio-moral law, on which all Nature is based. If the meaning of cancer as a fact of life is to be grasped, says one researcher, the truth that there is a mind and even an ethic of the cell must needs be apprehended. This is totally different from what we had hitherto learnt from 'evolution.'

What have the leaders of biological thought to tell us? Bateson says 'descent with modification' is largely a chemical process, and that, of the principles regulating it, science has had hitherto neither hint nor surmise, although some have been talking glibly about it. 'What glorious assumptions went without rebuke! . . . Professed men of science offered very confidently positive opinions . . . which would now scarcely pass muster in a newspaper or a sermon.'

We are now to place our hopes upon bio-chemistry, according to that authority. But where does bio-chemistry come in most prominently? In nutrition, which is adequate according to whether it supplies the right or the wrong chemical substances that determine health and evolution.

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Nutrition is, indeed, the larger issue, the one most worthy of consideration and of study. The difficulty is that, simultaneously with bio-chemistry, nutrition involves bio-economics and bio-sociality, subjects not as a rule congenial to biologists. Hence the tendency to burke a much-needed panoramic view of the subject of diet, as of that of evolution. Feeding is obviously a mode of appropriation, involving the inter-relations of organisms, involving a system of elaborate services between organism and organism, upon the quality of which services the value of the bio-chemical factor depends. Let us see how this works out in detail.

In a chemical sense it is true that the degree of development which the organic world can attain in any given direction is limited by the materials derivable from the inorganic world. Our body may be considered as a laboratory stocked with chemical materials, each of which is being made use of for some particular purpose. Thus calcium is necessary in the formation of bones and teeth; also magnesium and phosphorus. Potassium and phosphorus are important constituents of muscles, and iron of the haemoglobin of the blood. Sodium, in combination with phosphates, carbonates, bicarbonates, &c., preserves the alkalinity of the blood. Sulphur is an important constituent of all proteins. Chlorine is required for the formation of hydrochloric acid, which is necessary in the stomach for the digestion of proteins. Shall we ever be able to live consciously in conformity with the conditions of our existence? The chief requisites are two: (a) That we make the most ideal use of the inorganic substances available on our globe; and (b) That, in order to accomplish this, we realize that we live in the midst of Nature, that we are responsible members of the organic community, and that it is our bounden duty to give Nature what is Nature's due by observance of the laws of organic interdependence—that we begin to understand the noble ends for which the great business of the world is conducted, and to shape our lives accordingly.

Let us realize that we are faced by a conjoint problem of chemical industry and of mutual biological accommodation, and that the best way of attacking it is by the method of partnership between plant and animal, i.e. by symbiosis, with the implied division of labour, the implied specialization, and the implied discrimination with regard to food.

In so far as the plant was adequately supported by the animal, it was able to furnish specially-elaborated and specially-tutored substances, ideally suited for the purposes of animal evolution. Whilst tackling, and in part solving, the economic and bio-economic problem of existence, the genius of organic life for mutual accommodation simultaneously solved the bio-chemical problem of existence. Chemical power was evolved by organisms in accordance with Emerson's dictum that those that do the thing shall have the power. And the thing to do was chiefly this, to obey the law of co-operation and of specialization according to division of labour.

On the purely chemical side our opportunities may have been very limited. On the socio-physiological side there was almost unlimited scope for ever-increasing elaboration by the means of division of labour in symbiosis. By symbiosis I mean definite, almost deliberate, mutual adaptation for the purposes of mutual service, and of progressive synthesis on the part of organisms belonging to different species. It is a phenomenon the importance of which is increasingly seen in science every day. The more it is studied and the more we learn of animals and plants, the less is life seen to be a chaos of unceasing conflict and carnage, as Darwinism asserted it to be, and the more it emerges that there is a universal scheme of unconscious co-operation. Now to revert to bio-chemistry. I have stated that our chemical conditions of existence were limited by the supply of inorganic substances available on our globe. The question arises, Have we fastened upon the most ideal substances present?

It is clear that some species have done better than others in the use they made of what is present. A comparative study of the respective adaptations is replete with valuable lessons—lessons of health and lessons of evolution. The subject has recently been broached by a great bio-chemist, Professor Joseph Barcroft, Fullerian Professor of Physiology at Cambridge, in connexion with an inquiry into the methods of Nature in her adaptation of chemical substances to particular ends, with a view to acquiring some information concerning the chemical basis of natural selection, as he says. He is at a loss to see how natural selection could modify a chemical substance, such as magnesium sulphate, for instance. A chemical compound being a thing of prescribed properties, magnesium sulphate is just magnesium sulphate and nothing else. There could not be degrees of magnesium sulphate-ness except in the sense of there being more or less of the substance present.

How did Nature deal with such a problem? Surely, Professor Barcroft tells us, Nature was hampered in every direction, having to deal with the innumerable bricks she manufactured from insufficient straw, her selection of the best materials for the purpose, of her exploitation of it in the most unforeseen and surprising ways, of its inadequacy at best for the attainment of her end, and finally for progress being brought to a standstill in some particular direction, because, having done her best, she could do no more.

The problem was fascinating, but it was not easy. Evidently it was this: How have some organisms understood better than others how to make use of the conditions of existence? A gleam of hope, according to Professor Barcroft, is held out by an important substance, on which much research has recently been spent, to wit, the red colouring-matter of the blood—the haemoglobin. It is a substance which, we are told, has been subjected during the last decade to a scrutiny so searching that it must be regarded, perhaps without presumption, as an example of something which

Nature, having once acquired, had exploited on a magnificent scale, and indeed on the exploitation of which the whole higher creation depended for its existence. Evidently in haemoglobin we have at least the approach to an ideal substance to form the basis of life, and it will be of some little interest to learn how organisms managed to become progressively wedded to that vital substance. Regarding this more anon.

Meanwhile from Professor Barcroft we learn that man's activity depended upon his being fed with an amount of oxygen so large that it might run up to three litres per minute or even more, and there was no prospect of securing that supply without the invocation of haemoglobin. Our whole energy, it may be interposed, is derived from food and oxygen. The 'warm-blooded' animals, with the haemoglobin packed away in special cells or corpuscles, have discovered a better way of exploiting haemoglobin than the 'cold-blooded' creatures, and the latter are therefore lower in the hierarchy of beings.

The transportation of oxygen to the tissues, if it is not ideally arranged for by the organism, may require, so Professor Barcroft tells us, the organism to be tied down to a vascular system three times the weight of the rest of the body, which is comparatively retrograde. Yet, we are told, there are organisms not unlike this. The gnat, in one of its larval forms, carries about a sac of fluid commensurate with its own size. This sac contained enough haemoglobin to make the whole larva a reddish colour; but the gnat took the wrong turning. Instead of exploiting its haemoglobin, it dispensed with it. In its metamorphosis from a water-born larva to a flying insect it gained its activity, it secured its oxygen supply by exchanging its bag of dilute haemoglobin for a system of minute air-channels. By so doing, Professor Barcroft adds significantly, it doomed itself to remain always a gnat. The system of air-channels was incompatible with supply to

anything but the smallest creatures, for diffusion along such channels was of the slowest, and therefore the point at which oxygen was used must ever be close to where the air enters the pipe (*Haldane*).

We have as choice balance, elaboration, or degeneration, as Sir E. Ray Lankester said long ago. According to him, degeneration may be defined as a gradual change of the structure in which the organism becomes adapted to *less* varied and less complex conditions of life ; whilst elaboration is a gradual change of structure in which the organism becomes adapted to more and more varied and complex conditions of existence. In elaboration there is a new *expression* of form, corresponding to new perfection of work in the animal machine. In degeneration there is *suppression* of form, corresponding to the cessation of work.

But with the aid of the theory of symbiosis it is now possible to be far more precise on these vital matters. The great desiderata of work and of elaboration are fulfilled when the organism is on the path of biological service, when such service has reference to the main scheme of Nature and is thus of wide avail to life generally.

The more complex conditions of life, to which an organism does well to adapt itself, are essentially symbiotic conditions. Evolution is due to the summation of powers in co-operation. Just as on the purely chemical plane the co-operative union of hydrogen and oxygen engenders a new substance, water, with new properties and qualities, unique for world service, so the bio-chemistry of vegetable and animal co-operators, by synthesis and by summation of powers, creates new types of organisms, whose sum-total of reactions is expressed in unified bodily or social activities, or in terms of bodily or social consciousness, with their new powers for world service.

It has been stated that every living plant and animal is, during every moment of healthy life, a practical organic and physical chemist, conducting analytical and synthetical

processes of the most complex order with imperturbable serenity. So, too, it has been said by a leading chemist that the wonderful power which plants exercise in building up their tissues from carbonic acid, water, and nitrogen, contrasted with the powerlessness of animals to utilize these building materials until they have been assembled by plants, is a phenomenon too fundamental and illuminating to be withheld, as it now is, from all but the few. I do not think the significance of this phenomenon has been half realized. Neither our dependence upon plants nor our need of partnership with them has been at all appreciated. I look upon the vitamins as but one instance showing how we are altogether determined by partnership with the vegetable kingdom.

In the case of the gnat, instanced by Professor Barcroft, the organism was satisfied with minute air-channels instead of evolving an internal organ of respiration, such as a lung. The creature *had* to be satisfied with such an arrangement, for there was not the wherewithal for more efficient machinery of life. The astute Samuel Butler was only too correct when he stated that the term 'organic wealth' is not merely figurative; that none other is so apt and accurate. Growth, according to him, cannot be maintained and improved upon without pain and effort—without biological service, we may now add. As Butler further says: 'Modification, like charity, begins at home. . . . A foolish organism and its fortuitous variations will soon be parted.' So, as we learn from Professor Barcroft, the gnat foolishly parted with its dilute haemoglobin, and, thus precluding further evolutionary progress, doomed itself for ever to remain a little gnat—a failure of elaboration. A system of minute air-channels means a relatively small capacity for the intake and utilization of oxygen, and this fact, we now learn, is enough to constitute evolutionary insignificance. The fact is well worth underlining and pondering over from many points of view.

Professor Barcroft tells us that a system of air-channels is incompatible with progressive evolution, such as we know it. He thinks, of course, only, or chiefly, of the physical handicaps. But there is an important incompatibility also from a bio-economic point of view.

An organism of small oxidative power, such as a gnat, is not in a position to render significant services in respiration to the plants, and can thus do but little to further the main natural scheme, the co-evolution between plants and animals, as it is the chief privilege and distinction of the aristocracy of life to do. The development of oxidative power proceeds *pari passu* with serviceability in co-evolution. In a general way it may be said that the greater the output of useful substances and the amount of useful biological services, the higher is the status of the organism. Great and widely-availing activity in an animal means muscles and the exercise of muscles, and this in turn means great oxidative power, achieved on the principle, enunciated above, that those that do the thing shall have the power. With a small or reduced intake of oxygen there is a small or diminished output of carbon dioxide, which the plant needs, as an animal counter-supply, to perform its duties in the elaboration of vital substances. A plant that is poorly supplied with carbon dioxide cannot supply oxygen and other substances as it otherwise could and should. Such a reduction, therefore, is easily on the lines of retrogressive or suicidal evolution.

We thus arrive at the important conclusion that the secret of animal evolution lies in the proper solution of the problem of association of the animal with the food and oxygen-providing plant, which is the partner. As a concrete example of the way and the value of symbiosis I may here aptly cite the case of the common fresh-water red alga, *Batracho-spermum*, which always grows on the shell of the fresh-water mollusc, *Planorbis*. The mollusc gains by being protected from enemies, being densely clad with the alga,

and is also able to live in places which would be otherwise unfit for it, owing to poverty of oxygen and excess of carbon dioxide, the former gas being supplied, and the latter removed, by the alga. Both the alga and mollusc are decidedly better off for their symbiosis. The more symbiosis between them, the less need of predaceous interferences with one another and with other organisms, and, what is more, the symbiotic relation is of more than local significance, since it everywhere makes in an important way for life in general. The presence of symbiotic systems makes, on the whole, for increased economy and increased security of life. It provides momenta for progress, which give direction to evolution itself—symbiogenesis, as I have called the evolutionary principle involved.

It is clear that the plant, by rendering possible animal life in an otherwise inhospitable region, assists very materially the diversification of life, which is an important factor of evolution. Did not Darwin declare that 'the advantage of diversification of structure in the inhabitants of the same region is, in fact, the same as that of the physiological division of labour in the organs of the same individual body'? This is saying, in other words, what, I submit, is quite true—that internal and biological symbiosis are mutually complementary, and differ only in degree, not in kind. Internal symbiosis—the precise and vital co-operation between our organs, tissues, and cells—is correlated with the external or biological symbiosis from which it derives its legitimacy.

It is not a little significant that all modern research goes to emphasize the importance of oxygen to the animal. Our very consciousness depends on a proper and constant supply of oxygen to the brain. What a wonderful biological part the plant must have played in the most important department of evolution—the development of the human brain—by disengaging and supplying right amounts of oxygen at the right moments! It is possible that oxygen

in the free state, just as the allied element sulphur in the crystalline condition, owes its existence to the quiet, unobtrusive work of plants, microscopic and otherwise. I have always believed in the unity of disease. I attribute disease and degeneration, in general terms, to a divorce from symbiosis. And I hold that food that is not adequate to symbiosis, by way of wrongful substitution, tends to lessen our affinity for oxygen, with many grave consequences. In cancer, for instance, it seems fairly evident that the patient, as a result of wrongful substitution in diet, has lost some customary affinity for oxygen. The cancer cell, like many other parasites, is anaerobic, i.e. it has become intolerant of oxygen—a grave abnormality indeed. Oxygen is a poison to it, as it is also to many other parasites. This is typical of the way in which good turns into evil, or, conversely, evil into good, according to whether the organism is engaged in a 'wicked' (parasitic), or a 'good and righteous' (symbiotic), circle of affinities.

Biologists have never studied adaptation as it should have been studied, namely, with an eye to compensations. The gnat, on the above showing, had gained a trifling activity, but at the cost of future evolution. Here we are entitled to speak of negative compensation. And why is there negative compensation and stagnation in that case? Because the creature has not known progressively how to associate itself with the chief purveyor of oxygen and of food on our globe, which is the plant. It was with the development of flight as with that of tree-climbing, in which latter our arboreal ancestors excelled: the advantages became pronounced and permanently of avail only if the organism remained on the path of symbiotic cross-feeding, which entailed restraint and moderation as against that excess which spelt 'over-specialization' in the case of other less well-controlled creatures.

When Professor Barcroft speaks of an organism 'dooming itself' by making a false choice of its opportunities, he

gives the whole case of 'natural selection' away. Darwin went too far in imputing quasi-selective power to the course of Nature, and he had to admit that 'selection' was a false term. There is no *conscious* choice, and hence there is nothing that can in strictness be called selection. As Samuel Butler said: 'Darwin credits selection with the discharge of functions which can only be ascribed legitimately to living and reasoning beings.'

Now to return to our haemoglobin. This vital respiratory pigment is peculiarly sensitive to its environment; it will only carry out its functions to advantage in congenial surroundings. The surroundings which are most congenial to haemoglobin are not those best adapted to the other chemical processes in the body. This is not so wonderful when we consider that through our possession of haemoglobin we are in reality adapted for grander than local purposes; that we are, indeed, as we shall presently see more fully, adapted thereby to partnership with plants.

Professor Barcroft tells us that the red blood corpuscles are to be found occasionally very low down in the animal kingdom; that, indeed, the corpuscle was itself perhaps the most humble form of life. There is reason to believe that the red blood corpuscles were at one time independent unicellular organisms. These entered at a certain period of evolution in symbiotic alliance with certain multicellular organisms, with our invertebrate ancestors, in fact, thus becoming in form and function what they are to-day. By dint of such symbiotic aid, our one-time invertebrate ancestors advanced to the vertebrate stage of life. This took place in the days before animals had come to live on the land. If the theory which has been put forward by Mr. N. T. M. Needham, B.A., should prove correct, it will add further important testimony to the importance of symbiosis as an essential to the accomplishment of big steps in the evolution of life on our globe. All epoch-making events, it seems, in organic evolution, were due to

the introduction of better services in symbiosis. The partnership between our ancestors and those of the blood corpuscles afforded an opportunity for the evolution of a gas-transporting mechanism of marvellous efficiency. The unicellular organisms became a part of, a new tissue in, the higher organism, the progressive evolution of which thus evidently owes much to symbiosis.

The majority of invertebrates has nothing corresponding to the vertebrate red blood corpuscles. They are as a class comparatively backward in symbiosis with plants, and hence comparatively destitute in general power of association. It has been shown that haemoglobin—the chief ingredient of the red corpuscles—is dependent for its maintenance (its iron content, for instance) upon the green pigment contained in the chlorophyll of plants. This is another reason for assuming that it was only those invertebrates which stood in the most symbiotic partnership with the higher plants of their time, i.e. those animals which lived temperately upon the spare products of their food plants, and served them in their turn, which were the most favourably placed so far as the potentiality and further expansion of symbiotic alliances was concerned. They alone were managing things well from an economic point of view. Their metabolism was propitious to such association as is required for the purposes of synthesis and of progressive evolution. Their protoplasm, enriched by symbiosis, possessed the necessary endowment. One cannot emphasize enough that discrimination in feeding and forbearance with life, affording the most economic basis for an ideal mutual accommodation with present and prospective partners, are the prerequisites of evolutionary success. Economic laws are eternal, and no organism can flout them with impunity. Unless we draw these vital distinctions between the factors which unconsciously promote association of a desirable kind, and those which produce the opposite kind of associations, all our

interpretation of Nature will be but idle guess-work. And emphatically it emerges that of all factors food plays the principal rôle. Food, as Samuel Butler said in a divining mood, is very thoughtful. From thought it comes, and to thought it shall return. That is to say, that psychical evolution is largely determined by food factors.

According to Professor Barcroft, our pigment is made up of two portions: (a) The part which contains the iron and unites with oxygen (or carbon monoxide, as the case may be); and (b) The large dead-weight of albuminous material to which part (a) is attached. The secret of evolutionary differentiation, according to that authority, is in the albuminous portion. It appears that the active part is chained down to albuminous portions with varying properties, and that the activities of the active portion are affected and modified. The power of the active part of uniting with gas, for instance, is thus altered, and this constitutes a great difference of evolution. Like marriage, albumen either makes or mars the organism. Organisms such as the worms, which have chained themselves down to a retentive power of oxygen and are comparatively sluggish, owe this to the kind and mass of albuminous material associated with the active portion of their respiratory pigment. Organisms like the higher creation, on the contrary, with a great power of giving the oxygen gas up, i.e. of efficiently and freely handling it, have a very different albuminous constitution of the pigment. There seems plenty of justification in this for the view I have often expressed that a faulty protein metabolism, associated, as it frequently is, with sedentary habits, is the cause of many of our diseases. I have dealt with this matter more specially in an article on 'Protein Metabolism' in the *Medical Press and Circular*, July 9, 1924. Emerson used to say that we breed men with too much guano in their composition.

Seeing that chlorophyll is the source of our blood pigment, we cannot be astonished to find that in some animals the

respiratory pigment is not red, but green. It would seem to be more or less of an accident, says Professor Barcroft, that our blood is red. We cannot at present tell why it should not have been green. Indeed, among the higher animals he has seen occasionally specimens which are shaping in that direction. Perhaps the most serious rival to haemoglobin, we are told, was to be found in the blood of the cuttle-fish. It was not surprising that, being possessed of a blood pigment which had considerable possibilities as a transporter of oxygen, the cuttle-fish had attained a massive development as compared with most non-vertebrate forms of life.

Professor Barcroft concludes that evolution presents three well-devised schemes of using respiratory pigments. 'One of these,' he states, 'the scheme of the insects, consisted in dropping the pigments entirely and remaining always small, while the other two schemes consisted each in the exploitation of a rival type of pigment which enabled it to carry oxygen on a considerable scale to its tissues. The molluscs singled out a blue pigment which owed its colour to the copper which it contained. They reached their highest development in the massive but almost mindless cuttle-fish. The vertebrates chose the iron-containing pigment which we know as haemoglobin, and have become the lords of creation.'

It would seem to be with oxygen as it is with vitamins—inordinate consumption is injurious, or the source of supply may be inadequate for the purposes of evolution, all of which is only too likely to be the case where there is no proper economic nexus between supplier and supplied. The molluscs are for the most part marine creatures, and many are carnivorous. Although the latter in their rapacity ingest much pigment, derived second-hand from animals, the strength they get from it does not really bless them. It is, on the contrary, a case of 'Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his; how long?' The fact of the apparent

high development of the carnivorous molluscs, more particularly of the class Cephalopoda, to which the cuttle-fish and the squids belong, has sometimes been urged by zoologists against my theory of symbiosis. But the achievement of mere bulk, and even of a certain type of high organization, is no proof of successful evolution. The contrary is often proved thereby, as when bulk lands the creature in a blind alley of evolution.

What good is sheer massiveness, sheer strength, to an organism which in the gaining of them becomes 'mindless,' as the cuttle-fish? Instead of going to support the development of the brain, the blood supply is here required to support the organs of depredation. You cannot serve two opposite ends—that of thoughtless depredation and that of progressive synthesis at one and the same time. If a modern nation were to attempt to live purely by warfare, putting every penny into war expenditure, with nothing to spare for education, this would constitute a parallel case to that of the cuttle-fish. In my book on *Symbiosis* I have traced the same sequence throughout the animal kingdom. Blue blood and copper, like the cuttle-fish's, have little attraction for me, who would like to remain in a position similar to that of Cyrus, King of the Persians, when he was shown the riches of Croesus, King of Lydia: 'I have better iron,' i.e. I am better allied than the cuttle-fish with the ideal universal provider, which is the plant.

Great is the importance of iron, both in Nature and in human civilization, as Ruskin has eloquently stressed. It is surely not a mere accident that iron has played so great a rôle in our evolution. We would seem indeed to have made the best choice of inorganic substances for the chemical basis of our lives, and, through iron on the one hand and the plants on the other, we seem to be associated with the most ideal inorganic and organic factors of life.

H. REINHEIMER.

A NATURAL PAINTER.¹

THERE are few corners of England that have changed less during the last hundred years than the Valley of the Stour, which divides the green uplands of Essex and Suffolk. The Stour rises in the chalk-land of south-west Suffolk near to Newmarket. Passing Sudbury, the birth-place of Gainsborough, it flows on through the peaceful Vale of Dedham, and then, broadening out into an estuary at Manningtree, finally mingles with the Orwell at Harwich. The district is little known to tourists. The main reason for this is probably its situation. Suffolk, being on the high-road to nowhere, is one of the most isolated of English counties, and between it and the would-be explorer stands what Mr. Filson Young has called 'the frowning barrier' of the Great Eastern Railway. The inaccessibility of the neighbourhood has, of course, been the preserver of its old-world charm, and few localities in England are better worth visiting by those who love the 'haunts of ancient peace.' Up the winding and willow-shaded Stour the barges still creep lazily with the tide to Sudbury, as they did a century ago; and, though they may have grown somewhat larger, the villages of this tranquil pastoral and wooded region remain unsophisticated and unspoilt.

Standing to-day at Flatford Mill, beside the Stour, you may gaze upon a landscape essentially the same as that which, from earliest childhood, was beloved by a miller's son who was born at East Bergholt on June 11, 1776. The miller himself was Golding Constable. He was a man of some substance, owning no less than four mills, two driven by water and two by wind. He was the father of three sons and three daughters. John, the second son, threatened to leave the world as soon as he entered it, and the parson was

¹ *John Constable the Painter*, by E. V. Lucas (Halton & Truscott Smith); *Constable*, by Frank Rutter (Cassell).

summoned to christen him at once. Fortunately, however, he decided to give the world a trial. 'Let us play with the thought,' says Mr. Lucas, 'that through the window he caught glimpses of the June sunlight on the quivering June leaves, with a white cumulus cloud shining through the branches, and realized that life was worth living. Or perhaps there was a scud of rain, and he thought of paint.' The records of John's childhood are meagre. He was sent at first to a boarding-school in Suffolk, about fifteen miles from home, after which he went for a time to Lavenham. Here, however, the usher was too free with the cane, and John was transferred to the Grammar School at Dedham, where French was his special study. Doubts as to his industry in this branch of learning are, however, suggested by the fact that, when in later years his pictures created a sensation in the Louvre, the criticism of the Paris papers had to be translated for him. John, indeed, had other ambitions than acquiring French; nor did his father's wish for him to become a clergyman appeal to him. A natural impulse towards painting had been encouraged in him by an enlightened East Bergholt plumber, John Dunthorne, in whose cottage he had, at the age of about sixteen, roughly improvised a studio; and never, perhaps, was artistic instinct so well fostered by the accident of circumstance, or more surely directed towards its true fulfilment, than when John Constable, on leaving school, was put to work in his father's business.

If Constable had not been, like Rembrandt, a miller's son, and if it had not been a part of his duties to watch the sky for signs of wind, he might have been an artist; but it is doubtful if he would have become the pioneer of modern English landscape painting. If we would understand the secret of Constable, we must never lose the mental picture of the miller's son gazing into the skies—those spacious, wind-swept skies which in East Anglia atone so abundantly for the absence of those more conventional attractions sought

by the tourist. 'That landscape painter who does not make his skies a very material part of his composition neglects to avail himself of one of his greatest aids. . . . It will be difficult to name a class of landscape in which the sky is not the key-note, the standard of scale, and the chief organ of sentiment.' Thus wrote Constable himself in 1821 ; and Mr. Lucas's comments on the same point may well be quoted also. 'One of the chief differences,' he says, 'between one landscape painter and another is in the handling of the sky. Not so much the actual painting, as the success with which they get it *over* the country. So many contrive to make only a distant backcloth of it. Constable brings his clouds right overhead.' Never, indeed, was the boy more essentially the father of the man than in Constable. Even when, after years of comparative neglect, London brought him at last a measure of success, his imagination never ceased to hover around Dedham Vale. 'I associate,' he said, 'my careless boyhood with all that lies on the bank of the Stour ; those scenes made me a painter.' Picture the artist wandering, as a youth, amid the homely beauties of his native country-side ; picture him lying so still beside the river that on one occasion a mouse was found inside his jacket pocket ; picture him, especially, with his eyes lifted to the clouds, and there is little else in his biography that needs, as an interpretation of him, to be remembered.

Nevertheless, before we consider Constable's achievement, the main outline of his unsensational life may be briefly sketched. He owed much to the fact of his being a miller's son. But that did not make him in love with milling ; and, though he seems to have worked conscientiously, his parents were not deceived as to his real ambition. Mrs. Constable was indulgent, and her husband was, in Mr. Lucas's words, 'one of the good fathers of history.' He saw no future for his son as an artist. But he was willing for him to take up study in London ; 'the paint keeps the boy out of mischief,' he said. It is pleasant to reflect that Golding

Constable lived to see his son's reputation established. John went to London in 1797, taking with him an introduction to Joseph Farington, whose fame as an artist was considerable at the time, though it now rests mainly upon his recently published *Diary*. In 1799 Constable was admitted as a student at the Royal Academy. He continued his studies in London till 1802. During these years he was much under the influence of Claude, the French landscape painter. Claude's pictures, unlike those which Constable himself was to paint, belong frankly to a land of romance; but it was their 'exquisite light' which fascinated Constable, whose appreciation of them had been quickened by a visit which he paid, about the year 1792, to Sir George Beaumont at Coleorton, in Leicestershire. Sir George, whom Wordsworth has commemorated in verse, is remembered as a great benefactor and patron of the arts, and as one of the founders of the National Gallery. His mother, the Dowager Lady Beaumont, lived at Dedham, and it was while visiting her there that he had met the young Constable. Sir George's fine collection of Claudes at Coleorton did much towards firing Constable's imagination, though during the impressionable period of his youth another influence operated powerfully upon him. While living in London, he took a holiday around Ipswich, and found it 'delightful country for a painter.' 'I fancy,' he wrote, 'that I see Gainsborough in every hedge and hollow tree.' Gainsborough, indeed, went now, as Claude had done, to Constable's head. Local patriotism may have had something to do with this. Gainsborough was also of Suffolk birth, though, unlike Constable, his landscapes were generalized, and did not reflect the actual features of his own country. For a time Constable fed upon Claude and Gainsborough. But in 1802 the spark of his own genius was definitely kindled. He left London and returned to Dedham, resolving, as every original artist must, to 'look at no more pictures,' but 'to get a pure and unaffected manner of representing the scenes that may

employ me.' There was room, he added, for 'a natural painter.'

During the years that followed, Constable divided his time between Suffolk and London, with occasional visits to other parts of the country, especially to Salisbury, which, like Hampstead, has come, if in a lesser degree than the Stour Valley, to be known as 'Constable's Country.' Of his private life there are few events that call for record. In 1816, at the age of forty, he married Maria Bicknell, daughter of Charles Bicknell, solicitor to the Admiralty and son-in-law to the Rev. Dr. Rhudde, the Rector of East Bergholt, who was a man of wealth. Constable had met Miss Bicknell many years before, but the rector thought a miller's son no fit partner for his granddaughter, and it was not until Golding Constable died, leaving him £4,000, that John was able to marry Maria without the doctor's consent. Rhudde eventually relented of his opposition, and when he himself died, in 1828, it was found that he had bequeathed £20,000 to the Constables. Tragedy, however, followed closely in the wake of fortune. That same year Mrs. Constable died—just too early to see her husband made, in his fifty-third year, a Royal Academician. She left seven children, anxiety about whom, together with the inconsolable loss of his wife, shadowed the artist's later years. He himself died, suddenly, in 1837.

In character Constable was simple, manly, and unaffected. He was not very sociable, though he enjoyed the close friendship of Leslie, his biographer, and of other contemporary painters, and was an affectionate husband and father. If not a 'clubable' man, however, and if sometimes he could be caustic, as when he requested his milkman to deliver his 'milk and water in separate cans,' he was essentially kindly. Leslie records, as a characteristic incident, that, when walking with him one day along Oxford Street, Constable 'heard a child cry on the opposite side of the way. The griefs of childhood never failed to arrest his attention, and

he crossed over to the little beggar girl, who had hurt her knee; he gave her a shilling and some kind words, which, by stopping her tears, showed that the hurt was not very serious.' Leslie also tells us that, after Constable's death, a hackney-coach driver said: 'When I heard he was dead, I was as sorry as if he had been my own father.' Constable's purity of mind is reflected in a letter written in 1802, when he was attending anatomical lectures at the Royal Academy. 'The whole machine,' he wrote, 'which it has pleased God to frame for the accommodation of the real man, the mind, during its probation in this world of tears, is as wonderful as the contemplation of it is affecting. I see, however, many instances of the truth, and a melancholy truth it is, that a knowledge of the thing created does not always lead to a veneration of the Creator.'

So much for the personal aspect of Constable's life. On its professional side, the dramatic events are equally few. Throughout his career he was comparatively neglected, as pioneers usually are; but, though he would sometimes utter trenchant criticism of the conventional artists who won the applause of the day, he never gave place to bitterness or jealousy. With the aid of 'pot-boiling' money, earned by portrait painting, he followed assiduously the path he had mapped out for himself, and, though he had had pictures hung in the Academy some years earlier, it was not until 1824 that he enjoyed some measure of success. In that year a Frenchman, whose identity has been lost, bought 'The Hay-wain,' which to-day would fetch a fortune, for £250, two smaller pictures being thrown in as make-weight. The three canvases were exhibited in the Louvre, where they immediately created a sensation, which was to have a deep influence upon what came to be known as the Barbizon school of painters. Constable's reputation was now made. But so far in advance was he of his contemporaries that he was never in his own lifetime really popular.

Looking at Constable's pictures to-day, and seeing in

them the living reflection of the English country-side as we have now come to know it, it is difficult for us to realize how revolutionary they appeared to the eyes of his own time. It requires more than a little effort to carry ourselves back in imagination to the artificial, urban, stay-at-home life of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when it did not occur to society that the green fields and the open country spaces had any pleasure or peace or inspiration to offer. Cowper, who died in 1800, and who was among Constable's favourite authors, had been a solitary pioneer, and during Constable's later life Wordsworth was still an object of ridicule for the Quarterly Reviewers. For Constable's contemporaries Nature simply did not exist. When, therefore, he showed them his native Stour Valley, in all its 'simple and unaffected' beauty of foliage, water, and cloud-strewn sky, the spectacle was an astounding one. It was not merely that Constable treated his subjects differently from other artists, for in his technique also he was an innovator; it was that his choice of subjects was altogether novel. Art had not yet escaped from its 'classical swathing-bands'; and though landscape had been painted before, it had served mainly as a background, and had been treated in accordance with various artificial conventions. Constable, who had resolved in 1802 to 'look at no more pictures,' but to return to the scenes of his boyhood and to paint them simply in their natural colours, not only broke a stubborn artistic tradition, but, as Mr. Lucas puts it, 'he brought English people face to face with England: the delicious, fresh, rainy, blowy England that they could identify, and after half an hour's coach ride from Somerset House, where the R.A. had its head quarters in those days, corroborate.' In Constable's pictures were to be found for the first time 'a few square miles of actual meadow, stream, and sky within a gold frame. Hitherto there had been landscape painting in abundance, but here was something else: here was weather! The scent of the flowers,

the coolness of the wind, the sound of the leaves, even the twittering of the birds, were present too.' 'Oh, Barton,' wrote Edward Fitzgerald to Lamb's friend, the Quaker poet of Woodbridge, 'how inferior are all our black Wouwer-mans, Holbeins, Ruysdaels, &c., to a fresh Constable, with the dew on it !' Never before in English landscape painting had the dew actually glistened, wet, upon the leaves ; and it is good to remember that Constable had in his own day at least a few clear-eyed appreciators. Constable's country abounds in windmills ; so do his canvases. 'When I look at a mill painted by John,' wrote his younger brother to Leslie, 'I see that it will go round, which is not always the case with those of other artists.' A more novel tribute was paid by Fuseli, 'a bad painter but a good joker,' who entered the Royal Academy rooms one day with an open umbrella over his head. 'What's the matter, Fuseli ?' he was asked. 'Are you crazy ?' 'No,' came the reply ; 'I am going to see Mr. Constable's pictures.' The jest, coming from one of the 'Old Guard,' was meant sardonically. But it was, for all that, a fine recognition of Constable's genius as a painter of 'weather' !

If Constable were the innovator of the realistic school of modern landscape painting in England, Turner, his contemporary, was the pioneer of the idealistic method of treatment. Ruskin, who made Turner his god, and was apparently incapable of appreciating two things at the same time, offered Constable a few patronizing words of praise, but complained that his subjects were 'low.' If he had used the word 'homely' there would have been less cause for quarrel with Ruskin, though even then he would have erred in his implied depreciation of the ordinary. No one would claim for Constable the imagination of Turner. But normal people cannot live upon the heights ; and it was, after all, the crowning virtue of Constable that, if he chose homely subjects, he revealed the beauty of the commonplace, which other eyes had failed to see. He showed men that

beauty is not a formal thing, discoverable only amid fine 'scenery' and in fine weather; and he was so much a pioneer that even to-day we, who rush at certain times of the year to certain conventional 'beauty spots,' are far from fully appreciating his revelation. But we are at least beginning to appreciate it. We are coming slowly to recognize that beauty is everywhere in Nature, if we have eyes to see it; that our English weather, so much abused, offers, with its fitful moods, a matchless spectacle of changing light and splendour; and that, no matter how homely the surroundings amid which our daily tasks must be done, there is still above us the magnificent pageantry of the skies. Constable, as the growing literature about him shows, is coming increasingly into his own; and the future will crown with still brighter laurels the memory of the miller's son who watched so intently the procession of the clouds casting their shadows upon the placid pastures of the Stour.

GILBERT THOMAS.

BIOLOGY AND HUMAN PROGRESS

AT every turn the student of political science is confronted with problems that demand biological knowledge for their solution,' but when he asks for guidance he finds that, beyond a general belief in evolution, biologists themselves are very much at variance. When once the principle of evolution is grasped, the most obvious theory of its operation is to suppose that species have arisen through the adaptation of the living organism to changing conditions of life, and to the change of their habits due to the impulse of fresh needs. This theory was, in fact, worked out in full detail by the great French naturalist Lamarck, but it met with little if any success in the scientific world. The case for evolution was won by Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, which operates on small accidental variations indefinite in character and direction. For instance, according to Lamarck, a seal got its flippers and its fish-like shape through persistently following an aquatic habit: according to Darwin, the change was indirect; the shore-feeding creature whose limbs diverged by accident slightly towards flippers survived those of the original type, and so, very gradually, seals were evolved. It is not that the two theories are necessarily incompatible. Darwin, in fact, believed in both of them, and towards the end of his life considered that he had assigned too little importance to the inheritance of the results of the changed habits or acquirements of the individual. Moreover, his theory of pangenesis, which did not receive any general support, fully provided for this class of variations. The theory of natural selection suited the highly mechanical outlook of the nineteenth century, and so 'orthodox' Darwinians entirely gave up the Lamarckian factor. This position was consolidated and stereotyped by the work of Weismann, whose

theory of the germ-plasm wholly excluded the possibility of the inheritance of any modification of the individual. According to Weismann, the germ-plasm led an immortal, indestructible life of its own. The body of any organism was merely a carrier of the germ, and nothing that happened to it directly affected the germ-plasm. This theory was so widely accepted that Lamarckians came to be looked upon more or less as cranks, and 'science' was committed to the Neo-Darwinian position, with the result that the rising study of sociology confidently took over this theory, with all its results for human life.

The issue is a serious one. J. Y. Simpson (*Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, p. 158) says, 'Here is a matter whose practical aspects far outweigh in importance those that are theoretical; it touches man in every department of his being—physical, intellectual, and spiritual alike.' So W. McDougall (*Psychology*, p. 177): 'This is the most urgent and practically important problem, perhaps the most important of all problems, a definite answer to which we may confidently hope to obtain by the methods of empirical science.' 'So long as we have no positive answer to this question, there can be no progress made with many of the major problems of biology and sociology, and a wise decision on some of the most far-reaching legislative and administrative problems is wholly impossible.' Long ago Herbert Spencer, who strongly opposed Weismann's theories, said, 'Wrong answers lead, among other effects, to wrong beliefs about social affairs and to disastrous social actions.' Bernard Shaw, who later strongly supported the other view, said, 'The bubble of heredity has been pricked, the certainty that acquirements are negligible as elements in practical heredity has demolished the hopes of the educationists as well as the terrors of the degeneracy-mongers.' And so Dean Inge, quite recently: 'The law of heredity has been shorn of much of its moral force. Acquired tendencies are probably not transmitted, so that except by bad example a

father is not liable by his misconduct to taint the character of his son.'

Philosophers have held the balance more evenly, and often refused to rule out the case for acquired characters. For instance, F. C. S. Schiller (*Humanism*, p. 186) says, 'It is practically certain that some influences which can only be called "Lamarckian" must affect both the number and the character of the variations.' James Ward (*Realm of Ends*, p. 210) thinks, 'To say that no acquired characters are transmitted would be tantamount to saying that nothing is transmitted; and to say that the automatisms accomplished in a single lifetime are not in any degree transmissible is to say that transmission can never begin.' J. Y. Simpson (*Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, pp. 171-2) says of Weismann's position that it 'seems not merely illogical, in view of the certainty that all inherited characters must have been originally acquired under environmental influence at some definite period,' which Weismann himself allows, but 'it also disregards one of the best-grounded generalizations of biology—the unity of the organism—and leaves evolution without a sound rationale of progress.'

The reason why Weismann's theories were so fully adopted by biologists may have been chiefly due to the fact that they fitted in so well with the completely mechanical conception of natural selection. The imposing array of biophores, determinants, ids, idants, and what not, seemed to give ample scope for those 'accidental' variations with which natural selection deals. Otherwise one would think that the kaleidoscopic changes that followed one another in his views would have made people lose patience with them. But amidst all the changes he ceaselessly affirmed that under no conditions could acquired characters be inherited; and they believed him. Not that there were ever lacking some strong opponents. William James says that in point of quality Spencer's controversy with Weismann is better than any other part of his work. Romanes

has brought out the extraordinary inconsistency of Weismann's whole theory and the admissions made here and there which entirely nullify its force. His special theories have been given up by cytologists long ago; and yet the tradition persists, and is handed on in popular works by high authorities. For instance, it is now proved that the nuclei of body- and germ-cells are fundamentally similar, and that every body-nucleus is potentially a germ-nucleus, also that the body-cells can and do influence the germ-cells. It is nevertheless true that Weismann's work was of great value, and directed attention to the all-important function of chromosomes in the mechanism of hereditary continuity and change.

The difficulty of proving the case for acquired characters lies partly in the fact that it is almost impossible to rule out the abstract possibility of the Neo-Darwinian interpretation of cases claimed for use-inheritance. And as the inherited modifications due to use and disuse would be very slight for any one generation, experiments extending over a long series of years are required; but these are now forthcoming. The experiments of Kammerer at Vienna, unhappily brought to ruin in the war, but confirmed by similar work elsewhere,¹ have established the case for acquired characters. Now, to quote McBride (*Introduction to the Study of Heredity*, p. 83): 'This evidence aroused the most violent opposition; for scientific men dislike as much as religious men to be awakened from a dogmatic sleep. The researcher who first questioned the accepted belief was openly charged with fraud.' This absurd charge at least testifies to the crucial nature of the experiments, the results of which prove 'the direct action of the body on the germ-cells, which is, after all, the crucial point in the question of the inheritance of acquired qualities.' In a recent address at King's College, McBride has said, 'We are, therefore, in a position to state that after the lapse of the first quarter of

¹ Especially by Pavlov in Russia and Durkheim in Germany.

the twentieth century the doctrine of Lamarck has been submitted to the crucial test of experiment and proved to be true.'

One of Weismann's strong points was that no mechanism was either known or conceivable by which the changes in the body of the organism could be transferred to the germ-cells. But now, in the discovery of the internal secretions called *hormones*, we have a possible means of explaining the mutual interaction of body-cells and germ-cells. Cunningham (*Hormones and Heredity*, pp. 240-1) says, 'It was formerly stated that no process was known or could be conceived by which modifications produced in the soma by external stimuli could affect the determinants in the gametes in such a way that the modifications would be inherited. The knowledge now obtained concerning the nature and action of hormones shows that such a process actually exists, and in modern theory real substances of the nature of special chemical compounds take the place of the imaginary gemmules of Darwin's theory of pangenesis or the "constitutional units" of Spencer.'

In the twentieth century the rediscovery of Mendel's researches led to an immense reinforcement of the belief that evolution was due to the operation of natural selection upon 'chance' variations. The sudden appearance, especially in domestic animals and cultivated plants, or in wild species reared under artificial conditions, of markedly aberrant forms, yet capable of perpetuation as new strains or races, led to the belief that all species in nature have arisen in a similar fashion. Darwin had considered the case of these 'sports,' and had concluded that in nature they would be necessarily swamped by intercrossing, and therefore could not have influenced the general course of things in any important way. Mendel's work was so valuable mainly because it brought out the fact that such variations are for the most part *not* swamped by intercrossing, but, even if apparently submerged in a hybrid, reappear in the following

generation. Upon this work De Vries has built up a theory of evolution by 'mutations,' which appears to be the dominant theory among biologists at the present time. Recently, however, evidence has come to hand that such mutations are not normal occurrences in nature at all. They can be produced *ad libitum* under artificial conditions, and are, at any rate often, due to unhealthy conditions of the organism, resulting in 'a certain grade of germ-weakness which in each generation produces the same morphological effects.' 'If this view is correct—and all the evidence available conspires to show that it is—then mutations can have played no part whatever in evolution. Since they are the outward and visible signs of a weakened constitution, they are in a state of nature ruthlessly weeded out by natural selection.'

A great defect in much biological discussion has been to neglect almost entirely the influence of the spontaneous vital energies of the organism as a whole, the psychic factor of purposive striving. Mutationism is weak in this connexion; and in general one may read hefty volumes on evolution, and never find a hint anywhere that anything is involved from first to last but mechanical physico-chemical processes. McDougall states this point well in *Psychology* (pp. 174-7): 'Unlike Darwin, most of the biologists of the present day leave the mental powers out of account altogether when they seek to account for biological evolution; but if it is primarily a mental evolution, this procedure is doomed to failure.' 'Progressive evolution has been primarily an evolution of mental structure, and only secondarily one of bodily structure. For everywhere we find the bodily structure adapting itself to the mode of life and environment of the animal.' 'Thus mental evolution leads the way, and evolution of bodily structure is in the main the consequence of it; and this remains true, no matter what theory of the conditions of evolution we adopt.' 'We see, then, how distorted is any view of the evolutionary process which

represents mind as a mere by-product of its later stages; first coming into being when the physical processes within the nervous systems of animals reached a certain degree of complexity. Yet that is the view of mental evolution which has been widely entertained.'

The relation between mind and body in evolution can hardly be more clearly and forcibly stated than by Samuel Butler, as witness some citations from his *Luck or Cunning?* 'Form is mind made manifest in flesh through action' (p. 255). 'Bodily form may be almost regarded as idea and memory in a solidified state' (p. 266). Whilst fully allowing for the action of the environment, and interpreting its relation to the organism in a most penetrating and adequate discussion, Butler says, 'Living forms grow gradually but persistently into physical conformity with their own intentions, and become outward and visible signs of the inward and spiritual faiths, or wants of faith, that have been most within them. They thus very gradually, but none the less effectually, design themselves' (p. 78). 'All organic forms which are saved at all have been in proportionate degree masters of their fate too, and have worked out, not only their own salvation, but their own salvation according, in no small measure, to their own good pleasure, at times with a light heart, and at times in fear and trembling' (p. 79). Lastly, as regards the *modus operandi*, what could be better than this: 'Change in surroundings changes the organism's outlook, and thus changes its desires; desires changing, there is a corresponding change in the actions performed; actions changing, a corresponding change is by and by induced in the organs that perform them; this, if long continued, will be transmitted; becoming augmented by accumulations in many successive generations, and, further modifications perhaps arising through further changes in surroundings, the change will amount ultimately to specific and generic difference. Lamarck knows no drug nor operation that will medicine

one organism into another, and expects the results of adaptive effort to be so gradual as to be only perceptible when accumulated in the course of many generations' (p. 228).

There is now a group of theories by which evolution is explained as a process in which the factor of mind has the leading place, and these are necessarily Lamarckian in tendency. Here the main idea is that all hereditary processes are due to unconscious memory. 'All hereditary traits, whether of mind or body, are inherited in virtue of, and as a manifestation of, the same power whereby we are able to remember intelligently what we did half an hour, yesterday, or a twelvemonth since, and this in no figurative but in a perfectly real sense' (*Luck or Cunning?* p. 14). Francis Darwin says, 'There is a resemblance between the two rhythms of development and memory, and there is at least a *prima facie* case for believing them to be essentially similar.' So A. Tylor (*Colouration in Animals and Plants*, p. 13): 'The oft-performed actions of an individual become its unconscious habits, and these by inheritance become the unconscious actions of the species. Experience and memory are thus the key-note to the origin of species.' This is the theory propounded by Butler and Hering, and carried out in full technical detail by Semon in his work *Die Mneme*. It is altogether too elaborate to deal with in a brief outline of this sort, but it carries through the whole range of evolutionary facts, explaining the processes of the development of an organism from the fertilized ovule, as well as the origin of species. It accounts equally well for the principle of continuity in organic life as for the constant emergence of that which is novel.

We are therefore, on a survey of the whole question, justified in concluding, with Cunningham (*Hormones and Heredity*, p. 242): 'No biologist is justified in the present state of knowledge in dogmatically teaching the lay public that gametogenic characters are alone worthy of attention in questions of eugenics and sociology. Hereditary or

constitutional factors are, of course, of the highest importance, but there exists very good evidence that modifications due to external stimulus do not perish with the individual, but are in some degree handed on to succeeding generations, and that good qualities and improvement of the race are not exclusively due to mutations which are entirely independent of external stimuli and functional activity. It is important to produce good stock, but it is also necessary to exercise and develop the moral, mental, and physical qualities of that stock, not merely for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of succeeding generations, and to prevent degeneration.' R. Ruggles Gates (*Mutations and Evolution*, pp. 96, 98) says, 'Conceptions of functional inheritance in various forms are again making themselves felt in much of the constructive thinking of the present time.' Gates's general position is that the Neo-Lamarckian and mutation factors are not incompatible or mutually exclusive. More succinctly in the words of the late Professor Dendy (*Biological Foundations of Society*, pp. 148-9): 'Lamarck may be permitted to come out of his corner, and we may all take a more hopeful view of the future.'

Thus it appears that important biological discoveries or theories are wont to captivate the imagination and to dominate the whole field of thought. The principle of natural selection is real and potent, but when once discerned, and forthwith applied as the master-key to all social and political problems, it has produced disastrous results. Similarly the mutation theory (De Vries plus Weismann) has produced modern eugenics, with its very rash propositions for the reconstruction of human society. 'For us,' says Bateson, 'the causes of the success and failure of races are physiological events'—and apparently nothing else.

Variations are both adaptive and non-adaptive, and both kinds are inherited. The former result from the reaction of the creature to its changing environment, the latter more completely express its own inner creative initiative and

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originality. As far as variations are 'discontinuous' they are called mutations. Recent study is showing that the lesser mutations are of far more significance for evolution than the greater ones, and it is just these last that arise under artificial and abnormal conditions which suggest germ-weakness. May not the lesser ones sometimes represent the highest achievements of the organism?

It makes all the difference in the world whether the secret of human progress is essentially physiological or essentially spiritual. If the first, then it would seem that weeding out bad stock and encouraging 'chance' mutations that promise better things is the only true method of progress. If the second, then the way of redemption in the full Christian sense lies open. The saving of the body will be the inevitable result of the saving of the soul. It is encouraging that the whole trend of science, in both physics and biology, is now definitely moving towards the recognition of things spiritual. There is no doubt a place for eugenics as at present understood, but it ought to be confined to the region of the abnormal and the pathological; or at least one may hope that the most fundamental institution of human society shall not be handed over to the experimental adventures of a few specialists whose theories are by no means secure, and whose practical application of their theories is often very doubtful.

THOMAS STEPHENSON.

THE CITY OF GOD IN LITERATURE AND ART

THERE are those who entertain the notion that Literature and Art are not of a sufficiently practical character to contribute anything of serious importance to the building of the City of God. Pleasure, amusement, delectation, a certain refinement, and, of course, an absorbing interest—these they afford to those who cultivate them; but for any serious contribution to the City of God we must look to more solid and substantial things. Literature and Art may give to airy nothings a local habitation and a name; but some of our grim reformers regard them as a sort of Nero fiddling while Rome is burning. I believe that even Plato ruled out the poets from his ideal Republic; and Carlyle, after trying in vain to write poetry, was somewhat scornful of poets, though he praised Shakespeare and Dante and made a hero of Goethe.

The presence of Literature and Art before the mind of man has given rise to conceptions of life fairer and more ideal than any yet realized in fact. That is inevitable, because Literature and Art are by their very nature a criticism of life as it is. They are human endeavours to create something beautiful. Beauty in any form necessarily reflects upon human life and conditions. No man can give expression to beautiful ideas without thereby passing judgement, and leading us to pass judgement, on ugly things. Literature and Art judge human life. They set up in our minds a court, before the bar of which life is arraigned and condemned—if it has offended against those laws which Literature and Art, working so quietly and effectively in the legislature of our minds, have induced us to accept. This is the story of Literature and Art. They have raised in men's minds the idea of a City of God because they ever hold before us a loveliness which shames our cities and our souls.

It is the business of Literature and Art to show us a more excellent way, and so to pass judgement on our present ways—to give us glimpses of the City of God, to inspire a desire to build it, and a faith that it can be built. We shall always be too easily content with sordid things and ugly conditions, unless we are learning from Literature and Art to pass judgement on those things, to picture a fairer day, and to work for its dawning. They give to our minds a higher standard by which to judge life; they stir up within us a divine discontent with a world that is not worthy of our dreams, and thus create a restlessness which increases until we begin to do something to 'build Jerusalem.'

The fact that we ask the question, 'What contribution have Literature and Art to make to the building of God's ideal City?' makes obvious the certainty that this city must be built by men and women. The kind of city they will regard as a City of God, and how they will begin to build it, will be determined by the kind of men and women they are. This takes us away from the belief that we are fashioned by our material environment. No man will deny that we are to a large extent creatures of our environment. The very reason why we want to build a City of God is that we think that such a city would give men and women a better chance. A chance of what? A better chance to be better men and women—not richer, but nobler, more fully developed in body, mind, and soul. It is because we believe a City of God would create a finer type of men and women that we want to build such a city. If we were entirely the creatures of our present environment, being what it is, we could never hope to rise above it. The truth is that, while we are made by our environment, we are also helping to make it; and we make it according to what manner of men and women we are. The fact that we are made by such things as Literature and Art awakens hope.

At the head of all Literature and Art poetry sits crowned

as queen. As English poetry admittedly stands above all other poetic achievement—save perhaps that of Greece—and as Shakespeare is recognized as the first of all English and other poets, let us ask, 'What are the notes of Shakespeare's poetry? What are its characteristics? What kind of character does it tend to produce in those who become familiar with it?' If we can find answers to these questions, we may find answers to other and wider ones.

All great Literature and Art have the same notes as Shakespeare's poetry. The only difference is that Shakespeare's notes are clearer. Watts Dunton has accurately and finely said that 'it was given to Shakespeare to see more clearly than other men that that high passion, which in English is called love, is lovelier than all art, lovelier than all the marble Mercuries that wait the chisel of the sculptor in all the marble hills.' Perhaps that sums up the contribution of Shakespeare. He teaches us, as we are not taught anywhere outside the Bible, the greatness and value of that spiritual quality we call love.

It is impossible to dwell with Shakespeare without coming to love such characters as Imogen, Desdemona, Juliet, Miranda, Cordelia, Hermione, Hamlet, Horatio, Camillo, and Banquo, and without feeling an immense pity for men like Lear, Othello, and even Macbeth and Richard II, without feeling a tragic and shuddering horror that there can be such people as Iago, Richard III, Goneril, and Regan, without feeling a wholesome contempt for people like Henry V and Claudius and Pistol and Parolles.

It is no exaggeration to say that if we British people have retained any faith in human qualities—kindliness, pity, and good humour—if we have shown any inability to cherish the spirit of revenge, if our soldiers sang such songs as Tipperary rather than hymns of hate, we owe it largely to the ideals of forgiveness, gentleness, tenderness of character, and faithful devotion, which we find everywhere in Shakespeare. If the City of God is ever to be built,

it can never be built by hatred ; it can only be built by love ; never by national or class wars, but always by harmony, goodwill, and brotherhood between nations and classes. It is because Shakespeare makes for love and brotherhood, for comity of nations and classes, that he makes for the building of the City of God. This is Shakespeare's great contribution ; he teaches us to value as precious beyond all price those things by which alone can the City of God be built.

If Shakespeare teaches one lesson more clearly than any other, it is surely that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword ; that love and forgiveness and gentleness are great. So he makes Desdemona an angel of pity and pure love, and, though she is done to death, her love prevails ; and the wild, violent soul of her husband is redeemed by the greatness and purity of her love. It is only the implacable, malignant soul of the hateful Iago that seems beyond redemption. In one of those great yet obscure touches, of which Shakespeare has so many, and which do not reveal their significance until we have read him fifty times, he makes Othello look down towards Iago's feet and then say, ' But that's a fable.' The persistent cruelty and hatred and unmotivated malice of Iago seem to him so devilish that he looks down to see if he hasn't the cloven foot of the devil himself. In Lear again we have men—and women too—of ' blood and iron ' ; but it is quite obvious that all Shakespeare's sympathy is with the gentle Cordelia and her poor old father. Indeed, it is quite arguable that Shakespeare deliberately set himself to show us a foolish, fond old man, so drunk with the sense of power and office that he loves to exercise them in an arbitrary way, bestowing even his kingly functions on those who flatter him, and stripping to poverty the very darling of his heart because she refuses him homage ; and then Lear learns, too late, that the greatest thing in this world is love, the love that he had thrown away ; and when Lear had learned his great

lesson, he desires no more the pomps and vanities of power, but only that he and Cordelia may live together and sing like birds in a cage.

The tragedies of Shakespeare show us the terrible and devastating power of evil, and the fatal fallacy that men of 'blood and iron' get the best of it. Even when, in the tragedies, innocent and lovely creatures are caught in the tragic coil, he somehow contrives to make us feel that it is better to be lovely and perish than to be the destroying force—better, far better, to be Desdemona, or even Othello, than Iago; better to be Cordelia than Regan or Goneril; better to be Hamlet than Claudius, even though Hamlet himself is involved in the tragic consequences of his uncle's villainy; better to be the 'blood-bolter'd' Banquo than the bloody Macbeth.

But there are whole plays of Shakespeare which might be named 'plays of restoration.' They are plays in which the City of God, as it were, is destroyed—and it is always destroyed by hatred. Then it is rebuilt; and it is always rebuilt by forgiveness and love. Even in plays like *Cymbeline* and *All's Well that Ends Well* the tangled coils are untangled at last by the invincible love of two of Shakespeare's loveliest women. But in *As You Like It* and *The Tempest* and *A Winter's Tale* we can see the golden age, the City of God being restored; it is built to music, and in every case it is the music of love. Hermione loves on and forgives. She steps back into life, is restored to her husband to the sound of music, and once more all is well, and love has conquered—*Amor omnia vincit*. Prospero has his enemies in his hand. He can punish them to his heart's content; he can retaliate with a vengeance. But he seems to have seen that, as it was hate and selfish ambition which had spoiled his world and driven him into exile, his world can never be restored to him by hatred.

Perhaps the solution of the great unsolved problem of Hamlet's indecision lies in this—that Hamlet was trying

to force himself into a revenge for which his noble nature had no liking.

Hatred can only cease by love. 'Love your enemies,' said Jesus. 'Bless them that curse you.' And Shakespeare, who is always in the great Christian tradition, says the same thing again and again. Prospero forgives, and so builds a new world. This was not an after-thought. He had planned to bring his daughter and Ferdinand—the son of his enemy—together in love. And it is all accomplished to the accompaniment of music that seems to come from invisible and heavenly sources.

In *As You Like It* we are introduced into the atmosphere of the proud and self-frustrating world where ambition, greed, and hate rule, and give birth to injustice, cruelty, and alienation. The usurping Duke's daughter even gives herself the significant name of 'Aliena'; and then we are taken into a new world of reconciliation, harmony, and peace, where all things are changed by the great power of love. In *As You Like It* there are cases of real 'conversion'; and they have the infallible and unfailing marks of genuine conversion: souls are changed from hate to love, from vindictiveness to forgiveness. Shakespeare is full of this spiritual miracle. It is his outstanding note—the supreme value of the highest qualities which have emerged in men and women. It is impossible to dwell with Shakespeare without acquiring a deep faith in the high quality of mercy and compassion, and in the invincible, re-creative power of love.

And it is because the study of Literature and Art will evoke the spirit of compassion that it will always produce the kind of men and women who alone can build the City of God.

We look out on the world to-day—that world which has been brought into an extraordinary material unity and compactness by the expansion of European civilization, the spread of science, the extension of commerce, by flying

and wireless, and we see that the moral spirit of the world has not kept pace with its material advancement. There never was a finer opportunity than is being offered to men to-day to build the City of God. When we think of that city, we must not think of it in terms of our own nation and Empire, nor in terms of the entire English-speaking race. The world has been brought into a material unity that it may enter into a spiritual unity. Yet we see that the material unity at present is only accentuating our national differences and our stupid racial hatreds. The white races are dreading the domination of the yellow races. Men are already speaking of the next war for supremacy. They are even deprecating mere nationalism, because, they say, it is the business of the white races to combine their forces against the threatened domination of Oriental over Western nations. These prophets of madness foretell that the late Great War will appear as a family squabble compared with the awful conflict which is imminent. Others, again, tell us that the next war will not even be a racial war, but a class war, in which the workers of all races and nations will combine against the moneyed classes of all races and nations. And in this Gehenna of fire the world is threatened with suicide.

There is no hope for the world save in a universal spirit of goodwill; there can be no peace on earth save among men of goodwill—a universal, real faith in love, mercy, and brotherhood. Our only hope lies in that spirit of love, and that faith in God as the Universal Father. These are the spiritual realities which our Lord came to reveal. Because we believe that Literature and Art are always on the side of that spirit and that faith, that they aid in creating the kind of men and women who will build the City of God in the world, we are forced to assume that Literature and Art have a great contribution to make to the building of that city.

W. WOOD.

THE EVOLUTION OF PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

IT is a matter of common knowledge that man is the creature of the food he eats, and the nature of the dwelling in which he lives. Obvious as this is at the present time, it is even more so in the case of early primitive communities.

Food depends, among other factors, upon climate ; and the ease or difficulty with which supplies can be garnered and shelters for habitations found has brought about the different phases of man's social development.

Men obtain their food by methods of destruction and construction : the one process comprises such activities as the simple gathering of vegetable products, the hunting of animals, the catching of fish ; whereas the other involves the pastoral work of rearing flocks and herds, and agricultural operations.

The gathering of vegetable products occupies only the most backward people. To copy the action of the birds in devouring tree bark and berries or the burrowing rodent who browses on roots requires no great intelligence. Such peoples gaining their food-supply thus will always disappear when brought into contact with a higher type of civilization.

The finding of dead birds, beasts, or fish may have given man the first idea of flesh as a better source of food ; at all events, the grasslands and the forests became scenes of activity for the huntsmen. Hunting as a means of livelihood must always have been precarious, since herds migrate from one region to another, sometimes with the seasons, sometimes through deficient food-supply due to adverse conditions, and often without any assignable cause. Even the growing skill on the part of the huntsman becomes ultimately detrimental to the food harvest he hopes to reap. Such a mode of life made for strength and swiftness, dexterity

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and self-resource, and an unremitting alertness in the great struggle between man and beast. These are virtues, certainly; but there is another side to the picture. The egotistic life of the huntsman tended to produce tribal or even family hostility in times of scarcity, and the huntsmen were warriors, among whom warfare, *inter se*, was common. Moreover, it was essential that the men rested from labour on returning to their tents, and must likewise be ready while journeying to take every advantage that offered for augmenting the food-supply. Consequently, to the women of the tribe fell not only the stationary work of the camp, but the labour of removal and burden when camp was struck.

The trophies of the chase provided other commodities besides food. Skins were dried and prepared for clothes and tent coverings—arduous labour which fell wholly upon the woman in addition to her other work, so that she was in truth man's 'help-meet,' but not his companion. In all ages and in all places no community can rise to a high state of civilization where woman is nothing but a drudge.

The following of the trail in silence and over large spaces necessarily produces in the man a certain taciturnity which has the appearance of profound meditation, and which the ignorant or the optimist has interpreted as a sign of an equally profound intelligence. The life of a hunter is bound to promote acuteness of hearing and vision and the acquisition of some nature- and weather-lore; but the statement that the Red Indian, for example, is not so wise as he looks, is borne out by the few real achievements of his antique race.

Fishing, with many peoples, is but another expression of the hunting mode of life. In Arctic lands to-day the monsters of the deep are speared with harpoons, and in the streams of these and tropical lands the natives still 'hunt' the fish with bow and arrows. Fishing, as the white man understands it, is of a different type—an activity of the

'collecting' stage, prolonged into regions and eras of more elevated civilizations. Thus 'sea-fishing' has evolved in the fishing communities qualities of a high order. The larger migrations of the huntsman were necessarily shared by the family, but the fisherman knows no such migration. His residence is permanent, the one essential being its position on the sea-coast, and he reaps all the advantage of the permanent habitation. 'Home' thus becomes a concrete ideal, one to which he can turn his thoughts tenderly during the hours of toil and danger or enforced idleness when on the deep; and this tenderness is extended to the wife and children who dwell in it.

Fishing in the home waters gradually depletes the area, and the work must be carried farther afield. This necessitates larger vessels, and this the co-operation of crew, and, since divided authority is fatal in times of danger, willing submission to one captain or chief. Thus is established an ideal of personal authority; and since an incompetent chief is highly disastrous to all persons concerned, his authority is not hereditary, and depends strictly upon his capabilities. This makes for government of the 'democratic' type, or the 'aristocracy of merit.'

In time men of the fishing communities will reach other and very different lands. There will be barter of surplus cargo, perhaps for present necessities, perhaps for objects of luxury—the beginnings of trade. This rubbing up against other people of different customs, different ideals, gives broader views, more open minds. Family rivalry is crushed out by the enormous fecundity of the sea; the spirit of adventure, the remembrance of dangers surmounted in common, the greater opportunity to save stores—whether by use of ice, or drying and smoking—against a time of scarcity, are all factors which must greatly influence the development of character. To this must be added the 'free-masonry' of the sea; for there is a marked similarity in the outlook and ideals of seafaring peoples of all types,

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promoting understanding and sympathy between men of the most diverse races.

The position held by women in fishing communities is of peculiar interest. The leisure of the permanent home necessarily influences beneficently the health of the family. The labour of the permanent home—conducted without male interference—produces in the woman a self-reliance, an independence, and an efficiency in organization and government of which the women of the hunting tribes never dream. The returning husband learns to respect qualities in his wife other than those of mere food-preparer; and, on her side, she understands that if man be lord of creation, her place is not far below. This equality of the sexes naturally enhances the ideal of 'government by merit,' a democratic government, and in more modern times it has permitted women to undertake so-called 'men's' occupations without heart-burnings and strife.¹

The daily housework is naturally lightened when the males are away on their lengthy expeditions. This gives the women leisure for activities other than domestic economy, activities which find expression in the form of much-maligned 'gossip.' But this gossip is in reality the forerunner of a higher type of social intercourse, and probably the idle chatter of primitive women did more for social evolution than the so-called 'wise silences' of primitive man. Gossip leads to boasting, and boasting to a pride in one's belongings; hence the wife of the fisherman embellished her house internally with objects of pleasure and comfort, and externally by a little gardening, which later gave place to a little agriculture. Thus the community, through acquisition of personal property not strictly necessary for mere living, rises above the hunger-level of savages and the brutes. The 'simple life' is no real virtue to a civilization on the upward grade.

¹ In Norway, for example, where women have long been post-masters and harbour-masters.

At sea men talk; at home they have no marked habit of silence, and the social intercourse produced by 'gossip' among the women is continued between husband and wife. Each therefore gets the benefit of the wisdom of the other to the mutual advantage of both. That the cheerfulness of the home life is thereby promoted goes without saying.

The transition from the hunting to the pastoral people is gradual and natural. It may have arisen through the keeping of *pets*, which proved of material advantage in times of famine. The idea of possessing a permanent supply of animal food, and of domestication of such creatures as lent themselves thereto, may have marched side by side. With the breeding and rearing of animals comes the first thought of 'capital,' since under ordinary conditions the supply is constantly on the increase. The return is generally good; but the living is still somewhat precarious, as, owing to drought, cattle pests, and other adventitious circumstances, large numbers, if not whole flocks, may be unexpectedly destroyed. The pastoral life is one requiring forethought and care. On the abstract side we have the emotion of tenderness called out by the dangers of the breeding-season or the hazard of the steppe. The parable of the lost sheep would go home to the hearts of many in that Syrian audience.

To keep flocks in the plain is to excite the envy and greed of the dwellers upon neighbouring barren mountains, and co-operation becomes necessary to expel raiders. Settled life in any given region is impossible, since as soon as its pastoral possibilities are exhausted the flocks, and consequently their owners, must move elsewhere. Women, however, cease to be the beasts of burden, partly because the horse and camel are so much more efficient, and partly because the sympathetic relations established between the herdsman and his animals is extended to his womenfolk. Thus, though the enforced nomadic life limits personal possessions, they become very considerable when compared

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with the poverty of the hunting tribes. These possessions, of course, are in terms of carpets, curtains, cloths, mats, rugs, baskets, &c., made from the skin, hair, and wool of the animals and the reeds and grasses of the field. Pride of workmanship will lead to pride of decorative effect; colours and designs become conspicuous, as well as fineness of material. All this work, however, falls upon the woman, together with the normal preparation of food, which must be great when food is plentiful and male labour in the open air. She still remains man's 'chattel,' and in many primitive and pastoral communities a man's wealth is assessed in accordance with the number of his wives.

The idea of personal property cannot be extended to ownership of small areas of land, as these will speedily become exhausted. Consequently it embraces large tracts of country, which furnish opportunity for many small migrations. The flocks and herds are tended by the sons of the owner, and often by their grandsons in addition. This results in a reverence or veneration for the head of the family, or patriarch, to whom every member must look as the fount of all supply and organizing centre. The family unity, the tribal co-operation, result in a very strong conservatism, not to say obstinacy, which makes the 'horsemen' or nomads of the better grasslands wonderfully-effective fighters in face of attacks on their freedom of movement, and also in the practice of certain religious inspirations. In the past they have been unusually successful against the more docile, prosperous, agricultural types, gaining military glory, no doubt, but often hindering social progress.

Agriculture perhaps brings us into touch with the highest development of civilization. Civilization, it is said, originated in the agricultural land of the river alluvium between the Tigris and Euphrates; the ancient civilization of Egypt was based upon grain-growing; and it was the yearly custom of the Emperors of China to bless the fields, as a sign of the high esteem in which agriculture was held.

The greater permanency of the home, and consequently greater acquisition of property, led to a new sense of possession and a nice discrimination of the really valuable. Men must work; therefore they are saved from the degradation of the idler: but the work is neither fitful nor perpetual. Save in the tropics, seed-time and harvest have each their appointed seasons, which man has no power to change. But when it does come the harvest is abundant and the seed-time well provided for. Hence leisure does not mean starvation, and can be enjoyed without misgivings on that head. Man's zest for healthy enjoyment is increased by previous labour, and a mind at leisure from its work may often employ this leisure in contemplating this work under new aspects. Hence 'experimental agriculture,' leading to no immediate profits, but responsible for the enormous future gains of 'scientific cultivation.' Or the mind at leisure may prefer to contemplate other people's work on quite different lines, according to patronage, for example, to the ornamental arts and crafts, which benefit the race through the soul rather than through the pocket. Apart from all this, agriculture gains from the renewed communion with nature, the great Spirit that animates the universe. The greed of mining and manufacture, the noise and turmoil of congested cities, are providing for man an environment which marks his decline, mastering him no less certainly than simpler but equally adverse environments are mastering the primitive peoples still in existence. To-day there is resurgence of the eighteenth-century cry of 'Back to the land,' but it is a return to the land, not for wealth, which our great cities are pouring forth too abundantly, but for soul, which modern industries are doing much to destroy.

E. H. CARRIER.

Notes and Discussions

SOCIALISM IN CHINA TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO¹

CHINESE reformers and scholars are delving into their ancient classics with the wide-opened eyes of the twentieth century, seeking guidance on their present-day problems, and strange indeed it is to find how up-to-date those ancient Chinese classics are.

We learn that Shen Nung, who lived earlier than 2500 B.C., was the first Socialist in China—the first Socialist in the world! According to the teaching of Shen Nung, no one should consume any food which he did not himself produce. If we tried to carry out his teaching in England to-day, it would mean some intensive farming! He is the reputed founder of Chinese agriculture and silk-weaving.

In the days of the Sage Mencius, about 350 B.C., when China was divided up into small warring states under princes or dukes, he was at the Court of Duke Wen, in the State of Tang, giving the duke good advice on how to govern his kingdom. Agriculture and education were the chief things to be attended to. First agriculture, for the people must be fed before they could be instructed; but next in importance came education, for a population that had well-filled stomachs but empty heads were not superior to the beasts.

He pointed out that unemployment was the root of all social evil and disorder. 'If the people have not constant employment, their hearts are not at rest. If their hearts are filled with unrest, as a consequence of no fixed employment, then there is nothing they will not do in the way of depravity and wild licence.' Mencius had learned that hunger and want were the great breeders of revolution. He told the duke how the ancient Emperor Chow had worked out a communal land system, dividing up the country so that every ten families cultivated 1,000 *mow* (a *mow* is about one-third of an English acre) in common, dividing the produce between the families, but paying a tenth of the produce to the Government as a land tax.

Mencius advocated co-operative farming and marketing, quoting the words of an ancient worthy called Loong, who had, in the twilight of the world, faced all the problems our modern agriculturists are facing—how to carry on farming in the face of the uncertainty of the seasons, and the varying prices of grain and agricultural products in markets upset by civil strife and war. Loong's solution was 'mutual help' or co-operation, and this was strongly recommended by Mencius to Duke Wen. Then, when communal land-holding

¹ *The Works of Mencius*, translated by Dr. Legge; *Chinese Socialism*, China Mission Year Book, 1924; *China in the Family of Nations*, by Dr. Hodgkin (Allen & Unwin).

was arranged, and the farmers had banded together in mutual co-operative societies, the land or grain tax would be paid cheerfully, the budget would show a surplus, which ought to be used to encourage education and art. He was to provide the means of education for all—the poor as well as the rich. Schools and colleges were to be established, and agricultural and archery contests were to be arranged. All these would educate the people, causing civilization and good manners to spread from the upper classes to the common people, and the State of Tang would pulse with new life, vitality, and harmony.

As Duke Wen was considering Mencius' scheme of land reform and education, and very much inclined to make the experiment, along came a noted Socialist called Hsu Hsin, a follower of the first Socialist, Shen Nung. With him came a score or so of disciples, many of them carrying plough-shares and handles on their shoulders. They wore clothing made of hair-cloth, and made sandals or wove mats for a living. Duke Wen received Hsu Hsin and his disciples, and set apart a dwelling-place for them. Hsu Hsin began by praising the wisdom and benevolence of the duke, but pointed out that he fell short of the ancient kings because he had not heard the real doctrines of antiquity, as put forth by Shen Nung. Wise and able princes should become farmers, and cultivate the ground, equally and alongside their people, and eat only the fruit of their own labours. They should prepare their own meals morning and evening, and at the same time carry on the government of the State. The 'Wild Man' of that bygone day then proceeded to denounce the duke because he had Government granaries, treasuries, and arsenals, and was stated to be oppressing the people and enriching himself.

Mencius stepped forth against the Socialist leader who advocated equality—the Gandhi of that day—who was trying to induce Duke Wen to return to the simple life, when each would do his own work. Mencius asked some pertinent questions: 'I suppose Hsu Hsin sows grain and eats the produce. Is that so?' 'It is so,' was the answer. 'I suppose he also weaves his own clothing, and wears his own manufacture. Is that so?' 'No. Hsu Hsin wears clothes of hair-cloth.' 'Is the clothing he wears, and the cap on his head, his own manufacture? Were they woven by himself?' 'Oh no! He got them in exchange for grain.' 'Why did he not weave the cloth himself?' 'That would interfere with his farming.' 'Does Hsu Hsin cook his food in iron boilers and earthenware pans, and plough with an iron share?' 'Yes.' 'Does he make these articles for himself?' 'Oh no! He gets them in exchange for grain.' Then Mencius pointed out how all civilization and social advancement came by differentiation of function in the body politic. He poured scorn on the doctrine of the simple life, the return to Nature, and every man cultivating the food he consumed. He declared there was no oppression in giving the potter, weaver, or ironfounder grain in exchange for the fruits of their labour, but if every man was his own mechanic, farmer, and handcraft worker, the world would

starve, and civilization would go down in barbarism. So the government of a country must be left to statesmen, who, it is presumed, are as trained and qualified to handle questions of government as the husbandman is to sow grain or the potter to mould vessels. There is differentiation—some to labour with their strength in producing, others to labour with their minds in teaching and governing.

One of Hsu Hsin's disciples countered Mencius by saying that if the Socialist doctrine of equality were universally embraced, then there would not be two prices in the market, nor any deceit in the nation. If a small boy went to purchase goods in the market, no one would impose on him. Linen and silk of the same length would be the same price. Bundles of hemp and silk of the same weight would bring the same price. Different kinds of grain would all fetch the same price for the same measure. Shoes of the same size would cost the same amount. So the economic problems of the State would all be solved. Mencius replied, 'It is the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some a hundred, some a thousand, and some ten thousand times as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that would throw the State into confusion. If people followed the teaching of Hsu Hsin, there would be cheating and deceit. The Government of the nation would soon be overthrown.'

Again, in the Han Dynasty, 200 B.C., a great scholar called Chia Yi, discussing with the Emperor the question of production and consumption, said: 'If one man in the country does not plough, someone in the country is going to suffer from hunger; if one woman in the State does not weave, somebody is going to suffer from cold.' He also warned the ancient 'ca' cannies that production must proceed faster than consumption, in order that all the people might be adequately supplied. He does not seem to have been troubled about unequal distribution, for he says nothing about over-production of goods people want yet cannot obtain. But a later poet saw the evils of unequal distribution of wealth, and wrote a criticism of certain selfish and uncharitable rulers. 'In the palace there was superabundance of food and delicacies; in the country people died of hunger.'

The modern Chinese reformer maintains that in respect to economic wants all men are equal. What is sufficient to clothe and feed one man is sufficient to clothe and feed another man, under the same climatic conditions, and no one can even argue that a rich man will die if he has no 'birds' nest soup' for one meal, while a poor labourer may live without the coarsest food for three days! Heaven has made all men equal in their essential and fundamental requirements, but all inequalities have arisen from the unbrotherly conduct of men.

There always has been a great deal of practical Socialism and Communism in China, first in the family, which is far more cohesive and inclusive than in Europe. The income of a rich member is the common fund on which the other members of the family, near and

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distant, can draw. He has to support even his third and fourth cousins. Secondly, in the Trade Guilds, which provide for sick or unfortunate members, and for their families when they die. The Guild Socialists of the West might go to far-off China to see the working out of their new economic system. So there is nothing new under the sun, and all the difficult economic and social problems that perplex and baffle statesmen and students to-day have been studied and solved, in a more or less satisfactory manner, by the sages and statesmen of China over two millenniums ago.

P. T. DEMPSEY.

LUTHER'S TRACTATE ON FAITH AND FREEDOM

DR. HENRY E. JACOBS, in his excellent life of Luther,¹ refers to the publication in 1520 of his 'three monumental treatises, two polemical, one irenic and constructive.' Of the former the first was his famous *Appeal to the Christian Nobility*, which might properly bear the title, 'The responsibility and duty of the laity in spiritual affairs,' and the second, *The Babylonish Captivity*, a scathing criticism of the sacramental system of the Roman Church. The latter, *The Liberty of the Christian Man*, has evoked the following tribute from one of his most prominent modern critics: 'One cannot help asking how the same hand which delighted to shatter, as with a sledge-hammer, all that had hitherto been held sacred and venerable, could also touch so tenderly the chords of Divine Love.'²

A series of illuminating articles on this treatise, by Dr. Martin Rade, of the University of Marburg, have been appearing this year in *Die Christliche Welt* under the title, 'Die erste evangelische Glaubenslehre.' The distinction of being the author of the first systematic statement of the evangelical faith has frequently been assigned to Melancthon. But Luther's work appeared a year before Melancthon's *Loci communes seu hypothypothes theologiae* (1521). Rade expresses a strong preference for the Latin text of the *Tractatus de libertate christiana*. 'Both editions, the German and the Latin, are alike original; neither is a translation of the other.' The German text is described as reading like a sermon; it is edifying, but not systematic like the Latin version, which also contains important supplementary matter.

The outstanding merit of Rade's exposition is its insistence on the fact, of which he gives ample proof, that *faith* and not *freedom* is the main subject of the treatise. Its contents are accurately described by the title of Schleiermacher's great work, written three hundred years later—*The Christian Faith*.

In the first half of the treatise Luther describes 'the emancipating power of Christian faith'; it lays hold upon the word of God; it honours God by accounting His word to be trustworthy; it is

¹ Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 198 ff.

² Janßen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Eng. tr., iii. 239.

perfected in union with Christ. Rade comments instructively on 'the tenderness, purity, and profundity' of Luther's language in his graphic description of the marriage of Christ and the sinful soul. Obviously the simile was suggested by Ephesians ii., but Hosea ii. and the Song of Solomon are also used. Luther is favourably contrasted with some mystics because he strictly confines himself to the ethical suggestions of betrothal and marriage. It is faith that makes the two to be one; faith is the bridal ring. Doubtless the basal passage (Eph. ii.) refers to Christ and the Church; but Rade defends Luther on the ground that he is not expounding the Epistle, but is writing as a dogmatic theologian, and legitimately uses the figure to illustrate and elucidate the faith of the individual Christian. Once more Luther appears to advantage, when compared with the mystics who often delight to linger on the theme of the spiritual wedding, for he passes swiftly from this subject to speak of the royal priesthood of believers. As this high dignity is claimed, they are also reminded that priests are the servants of their fellow Christians. This truth is enforced in the second part of the treatise, but it is also taught in the early part in the two classic sayings, which may be briefly rendered: The Christian is free and subject to none; the Christian is free and the servant of all.

As these notes are written, only one article has appeared dealing with the second part of the treatise, which dwells at length on faith as a power for service. Faith sets free the Christian, but sets him free to serve. In reviewing his exposition of the teaching of the first part, Rade emphasizes and expands what he has said about faith and freedom. Too often faith is thought to be incompatible with freedom, to imply the disparagement of reason and the denial of a man's right to his own opinion. The usual connotation of the term 'free thinker' suggests an all too frequent acceptance of this perverse interpretation of 'faith.' 'When Luther wrote a book about the *freedom* of a Christian, he wrote about the *faith* of a Christian . . . for faith brings freedom, yea, faith is freedom. *Seine Freiheitslehre wird eine Glaubenslehre.*'

Luther makes use of ethical ideas to explain his assertion that faith is freedom, his main contention being that faith implies freedom from unfaith or unbelief. Faith does, indeed, deliver us from sin, but it is agreed that sin is a religious word, and is only fully understood in relation to God. 'We are out of harmony with the central and eternal Power . . . that is sin, that is unbelief.' Faith honours God (*summum cultus Dei*) by trusting His promises and obeying His commands. Rade quotes from Luther's exposition of the First Commandment, which he calls 'the fundamental, decisive, all-determining, chief commandment.' Faith, he insists, fulfils that first and greatest commandment; then the soul finds its true centre, and then it receives grace to do 'good works.' The adjustment of the relation between faith and works is said to be the most important element in the great Reformer's evangelical doctrine. A little historical knowledge is necessary, we are reminded, to appreciate its

value, but even more essential is self-knowledge; for the faith which, in this tractate, is described as 'making free,' is the faith that Luther, in his later writings, calls 'justifying.' Luther's teaching that faith sets the Christian free from other evils is not neglected; but on these subjects both the argument and the exposition move on more familiar lines. It is stimulating to follow Rade's lucid argument, and it is good to read his expressions of thankfulness that evangelical hymns have preserved the truth that faith is freedom, and have helped Christians to understand and to maintain *libertas spiritus*.

J. G. TASKER.

AN AMAZING MINISTRY¹

It has long been my conviction that any who desire to investigate the possibilities of the spiritual life, and, in particular, the sources of ministerial power and pastoral influence, would do well to make a study of the Curé of Ars. It is now over thirty years since 'J. B.' of *The Christian World* said that 'in this century, in which science meets us every day with a new marvel, there has been nothing more astonishing than this man's life and ministry.' I once ventured to suggest to the late Baron von Hügel that he should do for him what he had done so splendidly for St. Catherine of Genoa—that he should sift the facts of the life and experience of the Curé, and bring out their permanent significance. 'I entirely agree,' he replied, 'with your judgement concerning the Curé. It is only want of time and strength, and no divergence of view, that force me to abandon the hope of dealing with him as you propose.' When the Protestant reader has put aside those elements in the story in which Catholic biographers specially delight, and confines his attention to the purely spiritual aspect of the man and his work, enough remains to render the narrative one of the most amazing and suggestive that has ever been penned. In this man, who belonged to the peasant class and who had practically no education, we are permitted to see what the Holy Ghost can do in and with a soul that is simply and unreservedly given up to God. 'The one great truth,' said Cardinal Manning, 'taught us by the whole life of the Curé of Ars is the all-sufficiency of sanctity. It was this which shone forth with a surpassing splendour in all the life of this great servant of Jesus.'

It would seem, as the preface to the French edition of the 'Life' issued in 1914 declares, that the Curé of Ars was God's answer to the scepticism and materialism and science-worship of the nineteenth century. To its trust and pride in knowledge, God opposed a man who, almost a child in human learning, was endowed with a spiritual insight and illumination before which the greatest and wisest of his Church and time—Père Lacordaire, for example—stood in awed amazement. To its glorification of the senses, its pursuit of pleasure, and its worship of wealth, he opposed a man who literally stripped

¹ *The Curé of Ars*, by the Abbé Monnin. Translation and Notes by Father Wolferston. (Sands & Co., 21s.)

himself bare of all possessions, practised the austerity of an anchorite, and yet radiated perpetual peace and joy. To its denial of the existence of the soul and of the supernatural, God opposed a man from whose soul—through whose very eyes—the supernatural shone with a light that drew to his remote village hundreds of thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the world eager to see and listen to the man of God. During a period of forty years, these pilgrims flocked to Ars for spiritual help at an average rate of eighty thousand per annum. One of them wrote, 'In the person of the Curé of Ars there was something that captivated and absorbed one to such an extent that, in his vicinity, we forgot all about even the necessities of life. Poorly lodged, badly fed, rising before daylight, crowded, elbowed, pushed about, people braved cold, hunger, and thirst, fatigue, want of sleep—all just to hear a few words from the saint. They wouldn't have done as much for a king.'

That pilgrim furnishes the key to the whole situation. The attraction was the '*something*' in the *person* of the Curé. There were no accessories; the magnetic power was in the *man* himself; or, rather, was in the Christ who so obviously dwelt within him. When the widow of Augustus W. Hare visited Ars two or three years after the Curé's death, she had an interesting talk with one who had been closely associated with him in his philanthropic work for many years; and, in the course of the conversation, Mrs. Hare remarked upon the multitudes who had made the pilgrimage, year by year, to the village, asking where the attraction lay. The reply was this: 'We read that when our Lord was upon earth the multitudes thronged to be near Him; and they thronged to our good Curé because he was so like the Lord.'

An eminent man of letters who visited Ars in 1857 (two years before the Curé's death) gives a detailed and intensely interesting account of his impressions. He had been advised to make the pilgrimage by a brother writer, who said, 'Go to Ars. There is a man in whom dwells the creative action of the Spirit of God; a man who makes men Christians as the Apostles did, and in whose person are reproduced the marvels which we know only in books.' This writer testifies that the Curé wielded an extraordinary power over even the most cultured who came within the sphere of his personal influence.

He effected a wonderful moral transformation in the village of Ars, which became, before his career was ended, a centre of spiritual influence that put the Vatican itself in the shade. His work began, day after day, without change or intermission, at one o'clock in the morning. At that hour he passed into his church (outside which pilgrims had been waiting through the night) to hear confessions, to grant interviews, to say the morning office, and, at eleven, to preach a sermon. After the scantiest of midday meals, and a visit to his orphanage (conducted on similar lines to that of George Müller), he returned to his church, and remained there, variously but incessantly occupied, until seven in the winter and nine in the summer. It appears incredible, but it is the fact, that this routine was

continued, without a single holiday, for nearly forty years, till, in his seventy-fourth year, after an exhausting day during the heat of July, he tottered from the church to his presbytery, saying, 'I can do no more'; and in two days he had passed away.

After many years' study, I see in him what the Holy Ghost can make of a man, and can do with a man, whose complete self-abnegation and self-crucifixion removes every barrier to His action. It was said of him that 'he thought of all, cared for all, forgot none but himself, and forgot himself entirely.' His life and experience form an illuminative commentary on the two remarkable chapters—'From Self to God' and 'The Path to Power'—in the late Mrs. Herman's searching book on *Creative Prayer*. His Bishop, who preached his funeral sermon, with the Curé's body below him and in the presence of those who knew him best, said, 'As priest and as curé, always and in all things, he served God. Indifferent actions had, as it were, vanished from his life. He lived almost without food or sleep. Two or three ounces of nourishment a day, one or two hours of sleep, sufficed him. And how did he employ the rest of his time? Wholly in the service of God, in the service of souls—fourteen, sixteen, eighteen hours in the church. The mere sight of him, when his words were inaudible, preached, touched, converted. And this day, thus devoted to God, was continually recommenced, Sunday and week-day, night and day, without respite or relaxation.'

From this amazing ministry, I draw these conclusions:

1. No limit can be assigned by us to the possibilities, whether physical or psychical or spiritual, of a soul that is completely freed from the obstructions of self-regard and wholly ruled by the indwelling Christ.

2. There is an 'unction from the Holy One' which, without disparagement of talent, culture, learning, can yet dispense with these, and can turn a very ordinary man into an extraordinary saint and apostle. The most famous orator in France, Père Lacordaire, sat under the Curé entranced. Bishop Ullathorne (Cardinal Newman's bishop), who heard the Curé in 1854, said, 'If I had not understood a syllable, I should have known, I should have felt, that one was speaking who lived in God.' His biographer, speaking of his preaching, says, 'Those who heard him carried away the impression that he *saw* what he spoke of. He spoke without any other preparation than his habitual recollection in God.'

3. The one condition of this possession and manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit is the complete denial of self, and a complete surrender to God. The Curé himself said, 'There is but one way of giving ourselves to God in the way of self-renunciation and sacrifice; and that is, to give ourselves wholly, without keeping anything back. What is kept back is only a source of embarrassment and pain.' He assuredly had given himself wholly and had kept nothing back. It was on his return from his visit to the Curé of Ars that Père Lacordaire cried from the pulpit of Notre Dame, 'My God, give us *saints*!' The Curé was 'cannonized' at St. Peter's, Rome, early in June last.

A. DICKINSON.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN PROBLEM

THE British people are more responsible for the care of the Anglo-Indian, or Eurasian, community than for any other section of India's permanent population. With our governmental reforms and missionary efforts, what has been done for them is utterly inadequate. And yet they are allied to us, for they are mostly the descendants of European and Indian alliances. The old East India Company had its army and servants who often made permanent homes in India by marriage with Indian women, though the form was often not legal. In addition to those, there were the planters and independent traders who did the like. Often return to England was not thought of in the days of John Company. The alliances made were for the more part with those of low-caste or no-caste—persons with neither breeding, blood, nor education. The result was far from satisfactory.

The characteristics of the Anglo-Indians bear testimony to their origin. They cling naturally and properly to the traditions of the white race, and generally have a rooted dislike for the 'native' pure and simple, for their persons and for their language. The enthusiasm of an Englishman for anything Indian, especially the language, they can but dimly understand. The native retaliates through perception of this dislike; only the poorer type of native servant is willing to serve an Anglo-Indian.

Then, too, there is a noticeable lack of self-confidence. In a crisis the Anglo-Indian tends to give way. He will complain, but he will not face his opponent. The compensating and opposite vice is also present—he is a great blusterer, and exaggerates grossly; there are at least two potential Lieutenant-Governors among his ancestors. He is keenly sensitive as to his 'honour,' and is constantly watching to purloin a higher appellation. East Indian has become Eurasian, and, now that that is understood, it has become Anglo-Indian—a phrase usually attaching to Government servants hailing from England.

The feeling as to 'blood' is more keenly realized by the English folk than by those of the Latin races. For an English officer to marry an obvious half-caste spells social ruin, but the same would not hold good in a French colony.

Physically the Eurasian lacks stamina. He eats what the native does, but it does not seem to be body-building in his case; he has not the same muscle. The Eurasian girl is often very beautiful between twelve and eighteen, and at times her large, liquid eyes take toll of the 'lonely young Englishman,' despite the fierce remonstrances of his male friends. Soon the beauty fades, and they become either very fat (stout is too weak a word) or else skinny and lean, and the native progenitor appears.

Their domestic life is conditioned by their financial means. They are poorly paid, and can afford few English refinements in their homes. They see no great art galleries or museums, or but seldom; no Selfridges, Woolworths, or Harrods. They gather much from

magazines and books, but even these are, to them, costly. Their home furnishings are native-made and rough, or picked up at the sale of a home-going sahib's effects.

They are morally no worse than any other people labouring under like disadvantages; are moderately contented and happy-go-lucky—Israelites in a wilderness. In their persons they are inclined to great carelessness. Clothes lack neatness, for they go unrepaired in the matter of missing buttons and tapes; lace or linen remains ripped or torn, and jackets and skirts that should be white are grey, weary, and creased. Too often Eurasian women go about their homes in bare feet, with hair undressed, and clad in an amorphous gown.

The Anglo-Indian starts life handicapped, and has a claim on the English race for consideration and care. What is being done to help them? There are schools, but a lack of good schools of the English elementary and secondary standard; i.e. such as are to be found in English towns and even villages. There are small schools in various stations under the auspices of railway authorities or, as at Agra, attached to a cathedral. In the hills there are others carried on by Catholic priests and nuns, and a few Protestant ones exist. These all get grants-in-aid from Government, much hampered by various conditions. There are also the La Martinière schools and those founded by Lawrence. Of the former I cannot speak, but of two of the latter it may be stated that they labour under severe difficulties as regards equipment. Further, it is one of the greatest weaknesses that these Eurasian schools are not sufficiently well off to afford to pay for a fit proportion of trained English men and women to be got from England; the spirit and standard of things is not sufficiently English.

But when trained the Anglo-Indian man is now met by a withering competition from the native, through the wholesale Indianization of large parts of the public services—police, P.W.D., railway, medical, &c. The Chelmsford-Montagu reforms and other changing conditions leave many an Anglo-Indian to starve on the streets of Bombay and Calcutta. Only certain avenues of employment are open to them, and the wholesale opening of those to the native Indians in the upshot squeezes them out. As for the Eurasian girl, she has fewer opportunities. In the great cities she has a chance as a stenographer, or serving in the great business houses, just as an English girl would do in England. But away from these centres there is no opening save marriage. And no self-respecting Anglo-Indian girl will ever marry a native. To the bitter end they cling to the fact that they are European, and must marry a pure white, or one of their own class.

What is the solution of the problem? No wholesale and simple one; but some means may be taken to ameliorate present conditions. And first, opportunity should be made in this country to arouse public interest. Those who are working amongst Anglo-Indians should be encouraged to speak about their work. In a cantonment

like Lahore the Methodist chaplain has a heart-breaking Anglo-Indian proposition, with a beautiful little chapel, and a fair congregation, but a community lacking power to push ahead. Funds are wanted, and can often be got for 'foreign' missions, but got with difficulty for work among Anglo-Indians—which yet may be far more important at the moment than work among heathen.

Once interest is aroused, the education of the Anglo-Indian should be taken in hand. A first-class school (others would follow once the thing was properly started) on secondary lines is wanted, staffed by men and women from England, born, bred, and trained there, and with the love of their profession and the children in their hearts. These should be paid well, and their old age provided for. For if they return to England the door of employment is hard to open; their Eastern experience is regarded as a serious handicap. In the teaching of such a school the severest discipline for staff and pupils alike should be observed. The boys and girls would readily respond to it, different though their characteristics are from those found in England.

A definite organization should be started to ferret out vacancies and openings for the pupils, so as to introduce them to the official and industrial life of India. The syllabi should be framed to lead to avenues of employment. Drifting should be made impossible, and a 'follow up' system is equally essential, or money, time, and effort are all wasted.

But it may be said that such a School-cum-Appointments Department would cost money, and that that is scarce. The reply is: Lacs of rupees are spent for the natives, and yet our own people are ignored. Should another rising come in India, the Anglo-Indians would side with the British, as they did in the Mutiny. They will never side with the natives. Do we want them to sink to the level of the Goanese? Gradually they are doing so.

Nothing is more sad than to attend a service at the Foundling Hospital, to hear the children there sing to the only Father they will ever know; it seems almost a sacrilege to look on. In India there is almost a nation asking for recognition by those whose forefathers gave them existence. Are they to ask until it is too late?

O. G. LEWIS.

THE DISTINCTIVE MARKS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

THOUGH the Jewish Christians continued to worship with their co-religionists for some time in the Temple of Jerusalem, and in the synagogues elsewhere, there was from the beginning a separate Christian community whose distinctive marks were Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the Teaching of Jesus, as Circumcision, the Passover, and the Law were those of the Jewish Church. The apostles, prophets, and teachers—those charismatically endowed for instruction—attended to the preaching of the word and the

dispensation of the ordinances of Baptism and Eucharist. The 'Seven' were temporarily appointed to relieve the apostles in the administration of charity. Presbyters were appointed at a very early stage in the Church's development. These had the general oversight of congregations, and were also called 'bishops,' or overseers. Deacons, or 'helps,' were appointed as the Church grew, to aid the presbyters. The leading presbyter in every congregation probably rose to a prominence, first through having to preside at the Eucharist. Conspicuous ability, or the fact that he had charge of the correspondence of the congregation, or of its hospitality or such circumstances, may have helped to bring a presbyter to the front and cause him to be looked to as a leader. The ministry, to begin with, was very simple. It developed according to needs and circumstances. Baptism was the rite by which a convert was received into the membership of the Church, and it implied faith. It signified that the convert was turning his back upon the old life, was buried into Christ's death and raised into the enjoyment of His resurrection—life and power. Baptism was thus extremely important in the apostolic age, as to-day it is in the mission-field. It appeared as a *sine qua non* (Fourth Gospel and appendix to Mark) in connexion with entrance into the community of God. Faith was always understood, and the circumstances were such that it would be difficult to imagine how any one could be a Christian and not be baptized. The inward change in the Christian is ever attributed to the Holy Spirit. The spiritual life is due to the Spirit and not to the water. The baptismal formula usually employed in the primitive Church was 'In the name of Christ.' This fact has been laid hold of by critics in an attempt to discredit the genuineness of the commission to the apostles in Matt. xxviii. 19-20. But it may be pointed out that the shorter form implies the larger. Christ is the Christ of God, and no one calls Jesus Christ Lord 'except by the Holy Spirit.'

The Lord's Supper, or Eucharist, was the family meal, which indicated fellowship. Both it and Baptism were not mere symbols, but means of grace whenever faith was exercised. It had a forward and a backward look, and was calculated to intensify gratitude and expectation and foster a brotherly spirit.

Paul found these sacraments in the Christian community when he entered it. He did not create the conception of the sacraments, nor did he borrow it from the Hellenistic world, as Wernle and Kirsopp Lake and others teach. These critics hold that the Christian religion is a mystery. We hold it is a revelation, intelligible in so far as a finite mind can grasp what is divine and infinite. Lake teaches that the religion of the pagan world in the apostolic age was a religion of mystery, and that the New Testament was written in the atmosphere and under the incubus of the Greek mystery religions.

The mystery religions were not at their height in the first half of the first century of our era, and it is beyond doubt that both Baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered a considerable time before

the earliest of Paul's Epistles were written or the Gospels were composed, and that the Eucharist was orally in the possession of the Church from the beginning. There is no proof that these mystery religions were known to our Lord and His apostles. And, supposing they were, they would have been so foreign to them as to play no part whatever in the formation of their conception of the sacraments.

The ordinary Church service or form of worship was largely based on the model of the synagogue service, and embraced faith, praise, prayer, the reading of the word, and the preaching or exhortation.

With the aid of these various means of grace and instruments of service, the Church was meant to be—and has actually been—itsself the great instrument under God for the establishment of the divine Kingdom or 'the fellowship of men with God and with one another in love'; and the measure of its success is the measure in which it has revealed Christ. 'To the Church,' says Professor W. Curtis in his Croall Lectures, 1921, 'Christ committed a ministry of instruction, oversight, healing, and reconciliation, and a mission to mankind, evangelistic, didactic, and philanthropic. From prophecy and synagogue He took the models of His special ministry. Himself a layman, He instituted no Levitic tribe. His sacraments looked to the Jordan and to the Upper Room, not to the Temple. He left no legislation to determine the future organization of the Church, any more than its ritual and doctrine. The organization He left was of the simplest, and it was left full freedom to develop towards the universal goal He had in view. He would not foreclose the operation of that liberty. He bequeathed a Spirit whose possession and whose fruits constitute the supreme credential of any Church of Christians. Catholicity and apostolicity mean something higher than external diffusion and lineal succession; they mean the missionary spirit which yearns for the winning of the whole world.'

Thus we have seen what the ideal before the Church in the first century was, and how that ideal was, to a large extent, realized. The secret of its success requires to be known in every age before the Church can expect similar results. It consisted largely in these facts to which passing reference has been made. There existed most friendly relations between the members of the Church, who were united and kept together, not by the mere external pressure of hard circumstances, but by an inward force of the Spirit—a common sympathy, a common aim, a common Saviour, to whom they gave a common devotion. The spiritual forces that bound them to the throne of Christ and to one another were kept at their full strength by the continuance of these Church members 'steadfastly in the apostle's teaching, in fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and in the prayers.' In the teaching of the apostles emphasis was laid upon the fundamentals, and liberty allowed in respect of doctrines not essential to salvation. The teaching function was recognized in the early Church and faithfully discharged. Neglect of that function leads to weakness—as illustrated in the case of that worthy

body of Christians, the Society of Friends. The partial attention to it accounts, to some extent, for the loss of influence by the Church at large in these days.

Then, in the primitive Church, its members felt that they belonged to a large family, and they had a high sense of duty and privilege. The collection (1 Cor. xvi. 1-2), the high doctrines of eschatology, the Lord's Supper, and all the other institutions of their religion helped to make them, however far apart, loving and mutually helpful. The new life filled to overflowing the lives of all the believers. The spirit of meekness, humility, self-effacement, and loving service prevailed. In the words of Principal Selbie: 'This loving service was, in their estimation, a kind of third sacrament, which the Christian Church would do well to celebrate with the same scrupulous care bestowed on the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. When Jesus took and girded Himself and washed the disciples' feet, He was not only leaving them a formal example, He was enshrining in a beautiful deed the spirit which was to characterize His followers for all time.' This spirit the early Church caught, and hence its success.

The public worship, or 'the prayers,' was observed with all diligence, for the early Christians believed the promise of their Lord: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there I am in their midst to bless them.' They were convinced that the live coals of converted lives would lose their heat if they were not gathered and kept together.

Then, to them the name of Christ was the Sesame or magic term by which the way was opened for them through the rock of sin and unbelief to 'the unsearchable riches' of the divine grace. That name was ever bringing human poverty into touch with the divine wealth, and giving men a right to the 'inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.' It was the key that opened the secrets and enigmas of life and death and eternity. Further, that name, in a strange way, united the Christians of the first century to believers or members of the kingdom of God in all the ages of the Old and New Dispensations; for behind it was felt to be the 'power of an endless life.' All were citizens of the same Kingdom—Abel, Enoch, Abraham. . . .

ALEXANDER MACINNES.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Jewish Sects and Parties in the Time of Christ. By J. W. Lightley, M.A., B.D., D.Litt. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d. net.)

DR. LIGHTLEY, who delivered, as the Fernley Lecture in 1919, portions of the present volume, has at length produced in completed form the results of his studies. The subject is one of considerable importance to students of the life of Jesus, who have generally to refer to the leading dictionaries of the Bible for information on the specific views and principles of the various sects and parties among which He had to live. It is a clear gain to have a book which in careful and discriminating fashion expounds their origin, history, and tenets, their relationship with Christianity, and the grounds of their rivalry and hostility. The main sources of our information are to be found in the Canonical Scriptures and the Apocrypha: but Josephus and extant apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical literature are subsidiary authorities of value. Later Jewish literature, like the *Mishna*, which belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D., and the still later *Josephiah*, are of less moment. The somewhat fragmentary character of our information leaves room for diverse interpretations of the origin and character of the sects and their teaching. The author has carefully collated all the recent literature on the subject, and investigated rival and conflicting views with well-balanced judgement. The book is divided into four parts, dealing with the Pharisees and Sadducees, the Samaritans, the Essenes, and the Zealots, and careful synopses of the several chapters of each part are supplied. Perhaps for most readers the chief interest of the subject lies in the relation of Christ to these teachers. What, for example, is the right view of Pharisaism? The author will carry his readers with him in his conclusion that our Lord did not institute an indiscriminate attack on the whole body, or even the single school of Shammai, as Box believes, but that He rejected the spirit of the predominant Pharisaism of His day; while at the same time it is probable that this was only a temporary phase of Pharisaism, which later was to advance to a higher spiritual plane. On the other hand, the Sadducees were influenced in their hostility to the Christian movement rather by consideration of the public welfare as they conceived it than by doctrinal prejudice. The influence of Jesus and His followers was regarded by them as a menace to the public

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peace: hence their treatment of Stephen and the early Christians as described in the Acts. The study of the Samaritans is of special value in that it shows how their comparative in exclusiveness rendered them susceptible to Christian influence, and accounts for the large accessions from their ranks to Christianity, while the remnant which remained unaffected by the movement was not actually hostile towards it. The religious spirit which inspired even the Zealots, who were in revolt against the political and economic conditions of the Jews under the Roman Empire, is well brought out in the chapter on 'The Messianic Hope.' The interest of the Essenes as a singular Judaistic sect influenced by Oriental and Hellenistic thought lies in the theory that their destructive tenets may have a relationship with early Christian practice—brotherhood, simplicity of life, care for the poor, and so forth—while they may also possibly be traced in the heresy which affected the Christian community at Colossae. The author appears to support Dr. Peake's contention that inasmuch as the Essenes were unknown outside of Palestine, were unobtrusive and non-propagandist, we must look elsewhere for the sources of the Colossian heresy. On the other hand, Lightfoot's theory pleaded only 'an essential affinity of type with the Essenes of the mother country,' a theory that has some weight in view of the vogue of the mystery cults and the ascetic purificatory practices inculcated by them in Asia Minor. As a compact study of the environment of early Christianity down to the fall of Jerusalem, in which the author reveals an easy mastery of his subject, the volume merits wide attention.

Die Quellen des Richterbuches. By Otto Eissfeldt. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. 9 m.)

Some three years ago appeared a work on the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch, by a German scholar, at that time little known in England, Dr. Eissfeldt of Halle, entitled *Hexateuch Synopse*. It was an arrangement of the different sections in the Pentateuch and Joshua in parallel columns, so as to make clear at a glance the different documents from which each section was derived, and the relation of the different documents, part by part, to each other. Its special features were a new and very careful and detailed criticism of the sources as literary documents, and the disentangling of what the author believed to be a hitherto unsuspected document, which he called 'L,' the 'lay' document, corresponding roughly, but not entirely, to what had generally been called the earlier element in 'J.' The general method might be compared to that of Huck, in his *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, a work familiar to many readers of this REVIEW. Dr. Eissfeldt has now carried his method of investigation forward into the book of Judges.

Those who have used Dr. Burney's monumental work on Judges know how many fascinating problems are raised by the book. Concentrating as he does on literary analysis, Eissfeldt neglects the problems of comparative religion and anthropology which, especially

at the present day, attract the Old Testament student, and for which Burney (like Moore in the I.C.C.) has done so much. But, although literary analysis receives less attention now than in the earlier days of Wellhausen and Stade, Eissfeldt has shown, we think, that the work of such analysis is not yet completed; and also that it may have much to tell us of the development of religious conceptions in Israel. For instance, every reader knows that the book of Judges contains very different religious conceptions, from the rough 'sagas' and hero-tales of Samson, or the narrow though high-spirited patriotism of the song of Deborah, to the moral and religious interpretation of history in the introduction to the several narratives. In the more unsophisticated narratives, as we may perhaps call them, Eissfeldt distinguishes between the earlier, which he derives from 'L,' the 'lay' source, and the more developed, which he attributed to 'J.' The beginnings of 'religious pragmatism,' that is, the view that all disaster was the result of disobedience and falling into idolatry, he finds in 'E,' the document current in Northern Israel before the Deuteronomic reformation. 'E,' however, only contained the stories of three Judges—Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah. The Deuteronomic editor, influenced by 'E's' point of view, applied it to the other narratives, which he found in 'L' and 'J,' but in doing so he had to excise a good deal of material, which was restored later by an editor who did his work from the standpoint of the Priestly Code. If this view of 'E' stands the test of criticism it will certainly mean that religion was farther advanced in Israel (the Northern Kingdom) before the age of the writing prophets than has of late years been generally supposed, and that the leading ideas of the Deuteronomic school were by no means unprepared for. Among the many interesting and valuable results for the individual episodes, we notice that the author does not regard Judges iv. and v. as two independent traditions of the victory over Sisera, but holds ch. iv. to be dependent on Deborah's song in ch. v. We commend the book, with much gratitude, to the attention of serious English students.

The Sermon on the Mount. By Horace Marriott, D.D.
(S.P.C.K. 15s. net.)

The most interesting and valuable part of Dr. Marriott's book on 'the Sermon on the Mount' is his attempted reconstruction of the great Sermon as it stood in Q, the collection of the sayings of Jesus usually regarded as underlying the non-Marcian passages included in both Matthew and Luke. Roughly speaking, his thesis is that the material corresponding to parts of Matthew v.-vii. contained in Luke vi. 20-49 originally stood in a compact block in Q, and was preceded by some kind of introduction connecting the discourse with the call of the twelve. Perhaps Dr. Marriott slurs over the difference between Matthew's 'went up into the mountain' and Luke's 'came down to a level place,' but he would probably answer

that Matthew has abbreviated here ; he has torn the sermon away from its context in Q, by leaving out the call of the twelve. What should be understood, we gather from Dr. Marriott, is 'He went up into the mountain, called the twelve, and came down again to a level place along with His newly-appointed twelve to address the crowd on level ground.' The whole theory runs counter to the generally-accepted view that Q was a collection of sayings without contexts except in the case of the centurion, and possibly of the demoniac in Matt. xii. 22, where 'some of the earth in which the saying had been originally planted came away with the roots.' We should be glad to think that Dr. Marriott is right, and that Q could confidently be adduced as evidence for a connected discourse underlying the 'Sermon on the Mount,' but must confess ourselves not completely convinced. All the way through, our author seems to prefer Luke's arrangement to Matthew's, and perhaps he is generally right here ; but we think he minimizes the difficulties involved in so often taking Luke's word for it. Some of Luke's combinations seem highly artificial, and he cannot be acquitted of compilation offhand. In regard to the woes, for instance, is it altogether out of the question that Luke has imported them from another context or source with Ebionitic tendencies ? One reader, at least, must confess that a doubt still remains in his mind as to whether they, or the Magnificat either, really breathe the spirit of Jesus. It seems to be too easily taken for granted that, because Matthew's arrangement is artistic, it cannot have come from Jesus, that the discursive must necessarily be more primitive than the closely-connected and continuous. Is it not at least possible that the first evangelist has rather restored than merely rearranged ?

Dr. Marriott's strength lies in his wonderfully painstaking analysis ; his exposition is rather tame and runs on conventional lines, but the critical part of the book provides us with a store of well-arranged material, and will be exceedingly useful to students, whether they agree with the writer's conclusions or not.

Il Libro di Giobbe. Le Lamentazioni di Geremia. Giuseppe Ricciotti, Canonico Regolare Lateranensis.

These Commentaries (Marietti : Turin and Rome) can be heartily commended to every reader of foreign theological literature. They are the work of a true biblical scholar, concerned above all to give to his Church, and even to non-Catholic readers, the latest and best fruit of scientific and critical study in the sacred Text. The dedication of the larger volume sounds a note which is never lost through the introduction of almost 90 pages, nor even in the 150 pages of textual comments which follow it. '*To my many and good companions who have died near to me on the Col di Lana, on the Grappa, and along the Piave ; from whom I have learned to ponder the eternal human problem discussed in the book of Job, and to comprehend the only Christian resolution.*' Both volumes, indeed, reveal the humanist, seeking

the truth which ministers to life, seeking it also in contact with life.

It is impossible in a brief notice to touch upon the textual exegesis of these books, which are part only of Ricciotti's work as a commentator. (A Commentary of 336 pages on Jeremiah and a biblical anthology of 858 pages have preceded the volumes now before us.) But a seasoned reader of this type of literature will find both interest and suggestiveness in such notes as e.g. on Job xix. 25-26, 'the most important doctrinally but also the most disputed passage in the book.' Here, as throughout the many discussions of text and interpretation in the volumes, the commentator is familiar with the findings of other scholars, but he is always a voice, and not an echo, in the comment he gives.

The Preface to each volume indicates a trend of Roman Catholic study in Italy possibly unexpected by some readers, but gratifying to every true Christian of whatever Church communion he may be. Ricciotti pays tribute to the 'non-Catholics' for the thoroughness with which they have obeyed the command of Christ to 'search the Scriptures,' and have followed the example of interpretation given by Him on the way to Emmaus. If the Romanist has failed to show the same devotion to such studies it can only be, says this writer, because he has forgotten the method of the great Fathers and has neglected also the counsels of the Holy See in the present age. Some Catholics indeed have cherished the opinion that, in order to comprehend and expound the Bible, a good theological preparation was sufficient. 'Therein the usual equivocation enters between the terms "sufficient" and "necessary." The foundations of a house are certainly necessary, but are not sufficient alone to give me a house; so, for a Catholic, theological preparation will be necessary, but will not, alone, be sufficient. Doubtless one may be a good theologian without knowing either the year or the circumstances in which the Chaldeans destroyed Jerusalem; even, without knowing the languages in which the Bible was originally written; but it is just as certain, and yet more evident, that he who does not know these things cannot give an adequate and scientific exegesis of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.'

Wise 'builders,' whether Catholic or Protestant, will be thankful to this teacher for the example given in his pages of the method of a sound workman who 'needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth.'

The Introduction to *Lamentations* leads up to the conservative ascription of the book to Jeremiah, but this verdict is reached by arguments which give full value to textual and other pleas urged against that authorship. Selbie's conclusions from ii. 9, e.g., are refuted by referring this verse to the false prophets of ii. 14 (see Hastings' *Bible Dict.* vol., iii. 22). The sections on 'Funeral rites of the ancient East' and on the elegiac literature of the Bible have an interest much wider than their immediate reference to this short collection of *Lamentations*.

Job is treated with a fullness commensurate with the greater

importance of the book to the biblical student; the Introduction is a most valuable addition to the already great sum of literature on this theme. Commentaries would become a fascinating study if such introductions were a feature of them. The philosophical question of the book of Job 'is a chapter of this section which alone would justify the publication of the volume before us. Leopardi, Cicero, Manzoni, are unusual names in works of this class; they are cited here to excellent purpose. No reader of Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* will fail to appreciate the reference to the last page of that Italian masterpiece. But every section of this Introduction will repay study.'

The Bibliographies of both volumes include the best of modern as of ancient studies on these Scriptures. Driver and Gray, Davidson, Ball, Cox, Cook, Greenup, Peake, Streane, Hastings (*Dict. Bib.*), as well as German, French, and Italian writers, are included.

Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature. By Harry Ranston, M.A., Litt.D. (Epworth Press. 6s. net.)

The relation of the book of Ecclesiastes to Greek thought has proved a fascinating study to all commentators. While some critics have held that Koheleth is a genuine product of the Hebrew spirit, owing nothing to Greek influence, the majority have been convinced that his acquaintance with Greek philosophy is beyond question. Dr. Ranston, in his interesting study of the question, is convinced that critics have been in error in isolating their researches for parallelisms to Stoic and Epicurean thinkers, and has turned his attention to the earlier period of Greek literature and the writer between Homer and Aeschylus. He rightly lays greater stress on verbal parallels than on resemblances of thought, and has found them in the writings of Theognis and Hesiod, and less markedly in the fragments of Phokylides and the *Pseudo-Phokylidea*, a second-century compilation by an Alexandrian Jew who published under the name of Phokylides, a poem of moral reflection and aphorisms showing considerable acquaintance with the Old Testament. The *gnomic* element is strongly marked in all Greek literature from Homer onward, in the early philosophers, lyric and epic poets, the great tragedians (especially in the choruses), and in the comedy of Menander, whose date is only removed by about a century from that assigned by most critics to Ecclesiastes. There is no proof that the author of Ecclesiastes had read widely over this vast field, but he had certainly breathed the atmosphere of Greek wisdom. The fact that there is a common fund of reflection, aphoristic in form, pessimistic in tone, in early Greek literature renders the task of locating parallels somewhat precarious, even when the actual diction lends strength to the case for indebtedness. Take for example the words 'Cast thy bread upon the waters,' which recall the proverbial Greek phrase 'sowing the sea.' The latter is found in Theognis;

but Theognis alone need not have been in the author's mind, when he uses the phrase to combat the idea that generosity is fruitless. Dr. Ranston in view of these considerations is conspicuously cautious and sound in his conclusions. His book suggests that the relation between Semitic and Greek thought as illustrated in the Old Testament is a field of study awaiting careful research. It is also an inspiring example of how a knowledge of Greek classical literature can illuminate the study of the Bible.

Paul of Tarsus. By T. R. Glover. (Student Christian Movement. 9s. net.)

A brief Introduction sets the reader's mind in train for this study of St. Paul. Gilbert Murray described him as 'one of the great figures in Greek literature.' 'Homer is easier, and Plato's thought is plainer to follow. Paul can be simple and direct; but when he soars, it is into another region of beauty than Plato knew, and with wings uneven.' He has Plato's habit of interesting men in himself, without intending it, without quite knowing it. 'He shares also with Plato a progressive habit, which leaves his thoughts here undeveloped, there superseded, while he sweeps on into a new plane of intuition or vision; he is so keen on the last discovery that he forgets the old, and is too eager altogether to care about reconciling them.' Dr. Glover's first three chapters on Tarsus, Jerusalem, and Damascus throw new light on the early surroundings of the future Apostlc. He thinks that Gamaliel's attitude towards the Apostles had a share in developing the persecutor in Paul. 'It would have been less than human nature for the young and ardent Paul not to resent the "trimming" of the cautious Gamaliel; and Paul always had plenty of human nature, and was quick to respond to its promptings.' His conversion showed him that the Resurrection story was true—Jesus lived. It explained the Cross and gave it the central place which it kept in Paul's teaching. The whole difficult problem of Righteousness, Sin, and Forgiveness was solved, the problem of Israel was also solved and the difficulty about the Gentiles was dissolved into thin air. 'Paul was made by the steady habit, based on affection, of "bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."' A suggestive chapter shows how many things were combining 'to make the world one, to teach a more genuine humanism, and, as Paul and his followers saw, to open the door everywhere for a faith that should be one and universal.' There are many great books on St. Paul, but no student can afford to overlook this masterly volume.

The Gospel and the Modern Mind. By Walter R. Matthews, M.A., D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is an essay in popular theology which has grown out of a course of sermons preached by the Dean of King's College, in New York. The sermon form has been changed, but the attempt is made to interest educated men and women who have adopted the

modern view of the world, and may be helped by the discussion of some fundamental affirmations of the gospel in the light of modern thought. A survey of the characteristics of the modern mind makes it clear that the need for a restatement of the gospel is not fictitious. The message has to be translated from the setting of one world view into another which is quite different. The good news may be put in words which speak directly to the man of to-day. The germ of the gospel is the message of the potential sonship of every human being. Jesus Himself is the whole gospel, and His 'Follow Me' is the whole of the Christian religion. The modern view of the physical universe has deepened incalculably the impression of the majesty and the mystery of God, but has done nothing to modify our belief in the manner of His existence. Father, Son, and Spirit can be discerned in every complete religious experience. Dr. Hadfield says the need for the New Birth, 'almost forgotten by the Churches, is being rediscovered by psychology.' The dean closes with a prayer 'for the effective co-operation of all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and are trying to base their lives on the conviction that love never fails.' His book is timely, well-thought out, and one likely to bear fruit.

The Quaker Ministry. By John W. Graham, M.A.
(Swarthmore Press. 1s. 6d.)

The Swarthmore Lecture for 1925 divides its subject into three sections: doctrine, history, practice. The Quaker Ministry is based on three necessities: That there should be no routine hindrance to the contributions of any; that communications are of little value unless they come from that deeper region which is the place of the communion of souls, the gateway of prayer, and the goal of meditation; and that true ministry is an unbarring of personality for the sake of others. The criticism of other ministries is not very gracious. Mr. Graham says the Quakers think they know a better way, and will practise it as they have done for 275 years, and invite all to do the same. 'Nevertheless, we realize how great are the unselfish and often ill-paid services of the ministers of the various Churches, and how real is our partnership with them in their effort to bring in the Kingdom.' A sketch is given of the history of ministry among the Friends. The Society has gently and peaceably been liberalized, and has come through the troubles of the past. The question is whether members of the Society will rise to the occasion and serve it selflessly. 'They must have a gospel to preach, a strong urge that will not be put by.' It is a strong defence of Quaker ideals, but it will make some feel that its ministry does not meet many of the needs of the present day.

The Christian Religion and its Competitors To-day. By A. C. Bouquet, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.)

These are the Hulsean Lectures for 1924-5 by the Vicar of All Saints, Cambridge. They deal with Secularism, Pantheism,

Traditionalism, Relativism, with a sermon on The Future of Organized Christianity as an Epilogue. The fortunes of peace and war have caused him to temper his academic studies with much pastoral and practical experience. That enriches the lectures, 'since the material for any real view of the significance of religion lies as much in the lives of men and women as in books.' The keenest weapon against secularism is to preach and practise the noblest possible conception of God. A mean creed is the greatest enemy of religion. To the pantheist 'nothing significant really happens. The attributes of God are eternal and unchanging.' Christian theism is richer and more satisfying. Life eternal consists in knowing God—not in being absorbed in Him. Nor is Christianity a dull traditionalism. Old forms perish that new and better ones may take their place, and there must be an absolute and impartial devotion to truth. Dr. Bouquet thus reaches the conclusion that in Christian theism we possess a doctrine of God which is unsurpassable. 'The overlaying of the picture of our Lord by bad science and false history has unhappily led many to misjudge and misunderstand Him.' But there is no evidence that the great creative period in religion lies in front of us. Moderate liberalism, the lecturer thinks, will win after a tremendous fight with fundamentalism. The Epilogue calls on the clergy to stand to their people as Christ the Good Shepherd stands to humanity as a whole. The lectures are very lucid and suggestive.

Miracle and its Philosophical Presuppositions. By F. R. Tennant, D.D., B.Sc. (Cambridge University Press. 4s. 6d. net.)

These three lectures were delivered in the University of London in 1924. The first is on Miracle and the Reign of Law. 'Science leaves theology free to assert the possibility of miracle; but she seems to preclude the possibility of our being able to pronounce a marvel to be a miracle in the objective or absolute sense of the word: the sense, i.e., in which it denotes incapability for all time of being subsumed under natural law. Until we shall have arrived at something like omniscience as to Nature's constitution and intrinsic capacities, we cannot affirm any marvel beyond them.' The second lecture deals with 'Natural and supernatural causation.' Marvellous phenomena, it is urged, may cause faith, but cannot rigorously prove the truth of the message they accompany, or that direct divine activity was concerned in their production. The third lecture is on 'Credibility and alleged Actuality of Miracle.' 'Christianity does not presuppose the Christian miracles; they presuppose Christianity, though they are by no means bound up with Christianity.' That is the general trend of Dr. Tennant's argument. It is the modern view clearly stated, but it is not a little disquieting to those who take the position held by Mozley or Westcott.

Evangelical Humanism. By Lynn Harold Hough. (Epworth Press. 4s. net.)

The Fernley Lecture for 1925 will take high rank in that fine series. It lays its foundation in a study of the Evangelical Spirit which makes itself a home in men of every race and age and country. His evangelical experience made Paul a conquering missionary, and in John Wesley and his circle 'evangelical piety poised its wings for new and powerful flights.' It kept the soul of the world alive in the eighteenth century. We are shown how searching, how masterful, and how satisfying the evangelical accent has been for those who walk in tragedy and confusion, whilst for those who sit in darkness it has come as a great light. The essential evangelical life must not be confused with the limitations which have characterized its historic activities. The humanistic spirit, 'bright, illusive, austere, and splendid,' haunts our dreams. 'The humanism which enables us to see the colour and the variety of human life, to visualize each character with a sharp sense of its individual meaning and quality, receives its full and ample expression in the plays of the Bard of Avon. There is no room for William Shakespeare in that mind, just because all humanity is there.' Humanism is 'human experience becoming conscious of itself and of its possibilities, believing in itself and going forth on a great adventure of achievement.' It has its weaknesses, for the religion that is permanent must sound the note of the Infinite. The liaison which humanism so often forms with indulgence proves how easily it becomes a worship of life. Lorenzo de' Medici divorced taste from character, and Italy grovelled in the mire. The struggle is not over. 'The body at the moment is fighting for the throne in all our Western civilization,' yet honest humanism has learned that it must look beyond its own resources for the solution of the problems of life. Humanism and evangelicalism met nobly when St. Paul stood on Mars's Hill. *Paradise Lost* is 'a literal wedlock of humanism and the sanctions of the evangelical faith and experience.' Humanism at its best has no conflict with evangelicalism at its noblest. The points of contact and of divergence are lucidly brought out, and Evangelical Humanism stands forth at its noblest when, in desperate honesty, it faces 'the God who is an eternal conscience, with the strange peace which comes from the deep knowledge that at least it has turned its back upon all lies.' The knowledge of the adequacy of Christ is the never-ending wonder and glory of the human heart. The lecture, which is a literary masterpiece as well as a study in human nature and religion, holds the reader from first to last.

Israel and Babylon. By W. L. Wardle, M.A., B.D. (Holborn Publishing House. 5s. net.) In the twenty-fifth Hartley Lecture Mr. Wardle shows how profoundly Canaan was influenced by the great neighbouring empires, long before the history of the Hebrews as a nation began. The parallels between Hebrew and Babylonian traditions are examined, and the pages given to Egypt show that the problem of Babylonian influence is but part of the larger problem of

Israel's relation to a much wider Oriental civilization. 'We can discover nothing in the records of the greater empires comparable with the spiritual religion which we find in the writings of the Hebrew prophets. From all comparison the Old Testament emerges with an enhanced splendour.' Between Hebrew prophecy and the nearest approach to it that the Babylonian religion offered, a great gulf is fixed. The Hebrew prophets were not the agents of the kings in Jerusalem, Samaria, or Nineveh, but of Jehovah. The 'latent monotheism' of Egypt or Babylon is rather a matter of vague speculation than of vital religion. Babylonian influence upon Genesis i. appears to be comparatively slight, and though in some details Israel was debtor to Babylon, these details affect the outward form rather than the spiritual content of the traditions. 'That which we most value in the Hebrew religion was not borrowed: it grew out of the spiritual experiences of Israel's great leaders and prophets.' Mr. Wardle has done his work well, and it was worth doing.

The School of Life. By H. Maldwyn Hughes, D.D. (Epworth Press. 2s. net.) This is a happy title, and the twelve studies bring out its rich significance. The spirit of the book is seen in the words: 'The one school in which we learn to use life aright and to penetrate to its deepest meanings is that of Jesus Christ. He shows us God, and when we know God we know life.' The treatment of conscience and experience is suggestive and helpful, and Dr. Hughes throws light on the discipline of suffering and of change, on prayer and moral perplexities, on character and conduct, and on Finding our Place in the School of Life. The book is rich in thought and in wise suggestion for noble living. Every young man ought to have it in his hand. It is both attractive and sagacious and will make its readers covet, and seek after, a worthy place in the spiritual order.

Foundations of Faith. II. Christological. By W. E. Orchard, D.D. (Allen & Unwin. 5s. net.) Dr. Orchard's first volume dealt with the more fundamental ground work of Theism; a third will be concerned with the Church, and a fourth with Eschatology. In this second volume he deals with the Preparation for Christ, the Gospel Portrait, the Credibility of the Gospels, the Teaching, Consciousness, Death, Resurrection of Christ, the Virgin Birth, the Apostolic Christology, the Christ of the Creeds, the Doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Atonement. The first chapter lays hold of us. 'Throughout the Old Testament we get the constant desire and expectation that God would manifest Himself to men in a way which would leave His reality and power unmistakable.' Isaiah liii. gives 'a poetic creation that soars far beyond anything that can be historically interpreted of the nation or any member of it, and we have set before us an ideal person, who by his self-offering becomes a sacrifice for sin. No one but Christ answers to this picture.' As to the Credibility of the Gospels, we may have every confidence that they bring us in contact with historic events, and the mind of an actual personality, in such a fashion that we can be sure that this life has a

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critical meaning for all human history, and that this personality cannot be accounted for save as the Incarnation of God. The treatment of the Virgin Birth is both fresh and helpful. It would almost seem as if a true incarnation could only take place by means of a virgin birth. The doctrine of the Trinity is set forth as the crown and consummation of Christian Theology. It presents us with the ideal of a social order in which the human family shall have some resemblance to the Godhead. The doctrine of the Atonement 'consists of nothing more than the declaration that reconciliation has been wrought between God and man by the death of Jesus Christ.' This chapter on the Atonement will bring light to many minds, as, indeed, will every chapter of a very fresh and suggestive volume.

The Heart of the Gospel. By J. K. Mozley, B.D. (S.P.C.K. 5s. net.) The Principal of the Leeds Clergy School dedicates this volume to Dr. Forsyth and to Mr. Studdert-Kennedy. It consists of addresses, articles, and reviews written during the last five years which present a common view of the meaning of the gospel, and direct attention towards the need for a positive theology in close touch with the Bible, and making a wider appeal than to the intellect alone. The first three papers are on the Atonement. 'It is on the greatness of the crucified Christ that the Church lives. The treasures of her devotion draw their richness from that distinctive and triumphant gospel. Her greatest act of worship is steeped, as it always has been, in the adoration of the Lamb that was slain, and has taken away the sins of the world.' Warm tribute is paid to Dr. Forsyth's extraordinary fertility and richness of thought. 'It is great theology, the theology of one as scientifically competent as Ritschl, as spiritually proficient as Dale. And through it all burns the passion of one inspired by a single motive—the greater glory of God, his Redeemer.' There is a powerful criticism of Dr. Rashdall's Bampton Lectures on *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, and other papers on the Person of our Lord and the Holy Spirit in the Church which deserve, and will repay, careful study.

Ignorance, Faith, and Conformity. By Kenneth E. Kirk. (Longmans. 8s. 6d. net.) 'Invincible ignorance' is the connecting theme of this book. The history of moral theology is, in one important aspect, the history of the Church's unceasing attempt to adjust an 'infallible rule' to the demands of the individual conscience. Theologians and philosophers agree that violation of the law is no sin in the case of invincible ignorance. Mr. Kirk seeks to show how far this admission has carried the Church in a recognition of individual liberties in the face of promulgated law, and how much farther it might carry her. The concept of the 'law of nature' imported into the Christian system of law an element which made for conscientiousness as against formalism. Conscience received an ally of inestimable value in the heart of the enemy's camp. Invincible ignorance

came to be regarded as establishing the inculpability of the conscientious heathen, whether they had heard the gospel or not. In postulating a degree of eternal beatitude for the virtuous heathen who receive the gospel from no human lips, the doctrine of invincible ignorance has advanced a step farther. The comparative freedom from the dominance of law which every member of the Church of England enjoys should lead him to apply these tests to his own conscience, whenever it suggests a course not conformable to the dominant law or customs of his Church.

The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets. By Major J. W. Povah, B.D. (Longmans. 3s. 6d. net, paper covers.) The General Secretary of the Church Tutorial Classes Association seeks to bring out the inner meaning of the message of the Hebrew prophets. Elijah's retreat after Carmel, 'treated from the point of view of analytical psychology,' becomes an intensely personal problem, which demands solution in a man's own soul. The combination of the ideas of the living God, of His transcendent ideal for man, and of his immense interest both in human society and in the personality of the individual, is admittedly unique. The teaching of Jesus is unintelligible apart from the distinctively prophetic thought. To the prophets unbelief is the supreme instance of rationalization. Sin to them is the refusal to march on with the living God into a desert. Man suffers 'from arrested development or regression owing to his "rebellion" against God—his refusal to respond to the ever-widening ideal which God presents to him.'

Messrs. Longmans & Co. publish *The Faculty of Communion* (4s. 6d.) by the Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, who discusses the attempt to get into personal contact with the dead without the intervention of professional mediums. She holds that in seeking such communion we are not opposing the great spiritual forces of the world, or 'slipping from the service of our great Teacher in Love because we try to speak with those who also live within His love.' The loneliness caused by death may be 'irradiated with light.' It is an argument which will appeal to many sorrowing hearts, and Mrs. Lyttelton thinks that, once the laws governing a relation with the dead are understood, the influences of which we are now in the main unconscious may be grasped. We are interested, but doubtful.—*In Defence of Christian Prayer*, by E. J. Bicknell (2s. 6d.), meets objections brought against the practice of prayer from the side of science, psychology, and philosophy. The doctrine is consistent both with itself and with the general Christian outlook. The discoveries of science in no way disprove the possibility of real communion with the unseen world. Psychology cannot pronounce a verdict on absolute realities. At most it can assist in constructing a moral ideal which will satisfy and harmonize the many impulses of our nature. Certain types of philosophy leave no room for prayer, but they also leave no room for real moral

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effort, and indeed reduce all life and effort to futility. 'We can be both rational and religious.' The full meaning of prayer can only be known to those who try it.—*The Fourfold Challenge of To-day* (2s. 6d.) is the report of the Sheffield Regional Copec Conference. Its programme was based on the Birmingham Message, and discussed Education, Home and Housing, Industry and Property, International Relations, and The Social Function of the Church in a way that will stimulate and guide thought and action.

Order for Evening Prayer, by C. G. H. Baskcomb, B.D. (Skeffington & Son, 2s. net), brings out the beauties of Evensong, and shows the meaning of canticles, psalms, creed, versicles, and prayers in a way that will add greatly to the interest and profit of those who take part in the service. Such a book ought to be widely circulated, in both town and country churches.—*Scriptural Evangelicalism*. By C. H. Titterton, M.A., and Charles Neil, M.A. (Morgan & Scott. 5s. net.) Twelve Fundamental Truths of the Word of God are here presented in a way that will stimulate thought and study of the Bible. The Deity and Manhood of Christ, the Holy Spirit, and other subjects are clearly set forth, with constant reference to Bible texts. The personal, visible, bodily return of our Lord is regarded as near at hand.—*The Sacrament of Healing*, by John Maillard (Morgan & Scott, 8s. net), is the work of one who has given his whole time since 1919 to ministering to the sick and afflicted, and who assisted Mr. Hickson in his East End Mission. He believes that the origin of disease is never physical, but that it springs from the malignancy of the powers of spiritual darkness, manifesting their power on the physical plane of man's being. That does not commend the work to one's judgement, but it is interesting to see how Mr. Maillard regards the subject to which he has devoted his life.—*The Christian Outlook*. By Sir W. J. Ashley. (Longmans. 4s. 6d. net.) These are the sermons of a Christian economist delivered in various churches. Stress is laid on the fact that the life and teaching of Jesus sounded the new note of redeeming activity—of active, compassionate, sympathetic endeavour to lift the burdens from men's lives and consciences. 'The duty of thought' is well brought out, and the Open Door of opportunity is impressively described. Two brief addresses are added, and the little volume is a fine specimen of a Christian layman's view of life.—*Divus Thomas* is a Commentary on Philosophy and Theology which has articles on 'Principium causalitatis et existentia Dei,' on 'Einstein and St. Thomas,' on the relativity of Einstein and metaphysics. The summary of important books is very full.—A third edition of the Rev. G. M. Russell's *Intercession Services* (Allenson, 2s. net) shows how much it has been used to enrich public worship. It has been revised and enlarged, and seems to meet all the needs of a congregation.—*Arabic the Language of Christ*. By Major R. A. Marriott. (Allenson. 2s. net.) This is an attempt to show that our Lord spoke Arabic, not Aramean. Many Bible words are discussed, and the view is

accepted that our Lord's tomb adjoined the hill outside the Damascus Gate, which is 'identical with Calvary, the true site of the Crucifixion.' —*The Purpose of the Lord's Prayer.* By B. M. Hancock. (Mowbray & Co.) The Vicar of Bishopstoke shows in this suggestive booklet that 'the purpose of the Lord's Prayer is to ask for those things, spiritual and temporal, which we are to use solely in order to attain life, i.e. "the double fellowship with God and man."' The Three Episodes has some timely lessons on love of our neighbours.

The Religion of the Manichees. By F. C. Burkitt. (Cambridge University Press. 8s. net.) Dr. Burkitt delivered these three Donnellan Lectures at Trinity College, Dublin, last June. The wonderful discoveries of original Manichee literature in Central Asia are effectively used, and it is suggested that the Christian element in the religion of the Manichees is larger and more fundamental than the scholars of the last generation were inclined to allow. The treatment is such as to interest the reader, and there are some important illustrations. The first lecture is devoted to the history of the Manichees; the second to the teaching as to Jesus, and other matters; the third deals with the sources. The religion was an attempt to explain the presence of evil in the world. No improvement was possible till the world was altogether abolished. It was bad to begin with, and would go from bad to worse, but all that was good would finally be collected in the domain of Light.

Studies in Criticism and Revelation. By T. Jollie Smith, M.A. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.) Dr. Norwood does not altogether agree with Professor Smith's attitude to the modern critical movement, but he appreciates the range of his old friend's scholarship, the fairness of his mind, the vigour of his reasoning, and the wholesomeness of his spirit. Professor Smith believes in a spiritual universe surrounding this material one, and touching it at every point. He finds no difficulty in accepting a revelation which is not only based on a supernatural interference, but which is historical and miraculous and inspired. He was a good deal upset when he read Wellhausen thirty years ago, and is more sure than ever that the teaching of that school was wrong, not only philosophically and scientifically, but that the accumulating, matter-of-fact evidence is against them. He discusses the present position of historical criticism, dwells on the findings of archaeology, on criticism and miracle and evolution. It is a strong and fearless assault on the extreme theories of the Higher German Critics.

The Local Colour of the Bible. By C. W. Budden, M.D., and Edward Hastings, M.A. Vol. III. Matthew to Revelation. (T. & T. Clark. 8s. net.) This third volume slightly differs in arrangement from the two given to the Old Testament. The four Gospels are dealt with together under such headings as The Birth and Early Years of our Lord; Jesus in the Home, the Country, the Town; The Scenes of the Ministry; the Death and Resurrection. That takes 157 pages: 180 are given to the rest of the New Testament. A great

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store of knowledge is here made available for teachers and preachers. The notes on the seven cities of Revelation are excellent, and so indeed is the whole collection.—*The Old Book and The New Age*. By P. W. Thompson, M.A. (Marshall Brothers.) The writer holds that the Bible is not the exploded Book of the past, but the unexplored Book of the future. 'When correctly translated and interpreted' the Scriptures are 'without error.' The names of the writers 'are questions of human and literary interest, but simply have no bearing upon the problem of the final authority of the Book.' Whole-hearted faith in the Bible is a striking feature of this layman's study of the moral and intellectual authority of the Bible, which he regards as only second in importance to the final authority of Christ.—*The Divine Purpose of Salvation*. By David Cumming. (Morgan & Scott. 2s. 6d. net.) The writer of this little book died three years ago, and it is now published by his executor as he wished. He gave much thought to 'the divine purpose in the Salvation or re-creation of the spiritual life in the soul of man.' Redemption reveals the moral attributes of God, sets forth His power over moral evil. A man's place in that purpose and its effect on his life and purpose are clearly brought out in this devout and suggestive study.—*Some Twin Truths of the Bible*. By W. C. Procter, F.Ph. (Robert Scott. 2s. net.) Such truths as 'The goodness and severity of God, Divine Predestination and Human Choice, Faith and Works' are here set side by side with a discrimination which brings out the Bible teaching in a very helpful way. It is a novel method, and it is well worked out.—In *The Hebrews Epistle in the Light of the Types*, Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D. (Pickering & Inglis, 8s. 6d. net), pleads for the Pauline authorship, and describes the eleventh chapter as 'that glorious Westminster Abbey of the Patriarchs.' His judgements are open to criticism, but he is always spiritual and sometimes very suggestive.—*Baptism and the Early Church*. By Clement F. Rogers, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 6d. net.) Professor Rogers shows that 'baptize' is often used where partial immersion, pouring, washing, or even sprinkling is meant. He gives instances where pouring is actually mentioned, and other cases where it is the natural meaning. This is borne out by pictures of baptism that have survived, dating from the first century to the eighth.—*Exposition of the Epistles to Timothy*. By W. E. Vine, M.A. (Pickering & Inglis. 2s. net.) Full notes on the chief passages with an approximate chronology of St. Paul's life, outlines of leading subjects in the two Epistles, and an appendix 'on the sufficiency and finality of the Scriptures.' It is lucid and helpful throughout.—From the Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte in Berlin we have received *Das Deuteronomium* by Max Löhr (M. 8), Part II of a series of Studies in the problem of the Hexateuch. The book is published under the auspices of the Königsberg Literary Society. The 'Book of the Law,' though not written by Moses, can, in his opinion, ultimately be traced to Moses.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Russia in Division. By Stephen Graham. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

THIS volume carries on Mr. Graham's study of Russia after some trying years. The country of to-day is entirely different from that of the Tsars. It is more a peasant nation, but less a peasant power. The great land-owners have gone; the land belongs to the people. But there is less cultivation, agricultural machinery is less used, the power of marketing and distribution of crops seems to have been fatally impaired. There is a large but inefficient army; the navy has disappeared. 'The nation is capable of raiding, but not capable of war. In foreign policy it is meddlesome as of old, but is not yet possessed of the statesmen and diplomats requisite for successful interferences.' After eight years' enforced absence from Russia, Mr. Graham had to content himself with a tour of the frontier. He began his survey at the old Russian monastery of Valaamo on Lake Ladoga. Tens of thousands of pilgrims used to visit it, now there are none. The monks once numbered twelve hundred, now there are four hundred. The shrines of old Russia are now under Government boycott. There are no peasant pilgrims at Jerusalem or Mount Athos, the great days of Kieff are gone. Life is different, as one of the monks said, 'without congregations, without worshippers. We like it better in the winter, when we are left entirely to ourselves, when the lake is frozen. It is a long and peaceful season.' A grey-beard said, 'We expect a miracle. Only by a miracle can our Russia be saved.' Thousands of Russian emigrants are waiting outside the Soviet line, and if ever it gives way they will bounce into Petrograd at once. They are nearly all manual labourers now, whatever their previous position, and some are painfully ill and poverty-stricken. Repin, Russia's greatest artist, lives in Finland. He is eighty, and his pictures are better known in Russia than those of Turner are in England. He has been working for forty years on a canvas which represents a Little Russian religious crowd bearing in triumph a wonder-working icon. Riga is one of the finest cities of Central Europe, with the greatest trade of all Baltic towns. Cobbled Kovno, the capital of Lithuania, is the worst-looking capital in Europe, but there is money about and prices are double those in Latvia. Of the four Baltic States, the independence of Finland is most assured; the cost of living is highest in Lithuania, and least in Latvia, where, thanks to Riga, there are most signs of culture. People are happiest in Esthonia. In the Polish Kresi, the border

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region of Russia, there is poverty, discontent, and exasperation everywhere. Mr. Graham hardly recognized Vilna after ten years' absence. Culture had gone, the people were dirty, down-at-heel, ill-mannered, insignificant-looking. In the county towns the impression of squalor is intensified. The whole population needs a new outfit, if it could get it. The great cathedral at Warsaw is being levelled to the ground. Woe betide any man who fails to take off his hat when the Polish National Anthem is played. 'You may destroy the house of God, in full view, without apology, but you must not omit to raise your hat in honour of Poland. Poland is in truth more important than Poland's God. If God serves Poland, He will be honoured; if not, He will be dishonoured.' Mr. Graham's conversations with Russian writers in Paris throw much light on present-day conditions. He feels that Russia must once more become united. Her staunch peasantry number a hundred million, and every day Mr. Graham looks for 'the downfall of the blood-stained leaders and the crumbling of the Third International.' 'Russia stinks to heaven like some horrible battle-field left over from the war.'

Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism (1535-1603).

By A. F. Scott Pearson, D.Th. (Cambridge University Press. 25s. net.)

Eminent Presbyterian scholars have long urged Dr. Pearson to prepare a Life of Cartwright in the light of modern research, and to this he has devoted a few years of study at home and abroad. He has been able to correct various errors and to fill in certain blanks in Cartwright's biography. He has been confirmed in his opinion that Cartwright left an indelible mark upon Elizabethan history and occupies a place of supreme importance in the annals of Puritanism. His lectures, as Lady Margaret Divinity Professor, on the first two chapters of Acts, produced a sensation at Cambridge, and threatened the University with division. He was deprived of his Professorship in 1570, and three years later fled to Heidelberg to escape arrest. In 1577 he is living in Middelburg as a factor for the English Merchant Adventurers. In 1586 he was again in England, and was Master of Lord Leicester's Hospital at Warwick from that time—with one or two intervals—till his death. He was committed to the Fleet Prison for refusing to sign a repudiation of Presbyterianism, and afterwards spent some years in Guernsey. He returned to Warwick in 1601, and died there on December 27, 1603. 'His eminence was in large measure due to his eloquence, but his more lasting reputation rests upon his writings.' His chief goal was the transformation of the Church of England into a Presbyterian State Church, but Elizabeth's policy did not allow disharmony in the Church, and the prescribed uniformity made Presbyterianism impossible. Dr. Pearson's work will take high rank as a history both of Cartwright and of English Presbyterianism.

The Short Journal and Itinerary Journal of George Fox.
 Edited by Norman Penney, LL.D., F.S.A. (Cambridge
 University Press. 15s. net.)

In 1911 the Cambridge Press published *The Journal of George Fox*, in two volumes, edited by Dr. Penney. He has now edited the three important documents which underlie the Journal. They have been published for the Friends' Historical Association of Philadelphia. The 'Short Journal' has 126 pages measuring 8 inches by 6½, and is thought to be in the writing of Henry Fell, clerk to Judge Fell. The 'Itinerary Journal' is in two small books, 6 inches by 8½. They are in diary form, but were compiled from earlier documents and notes of travel. They are apparently in the handwriting of John Field, and throw a flood of light on Fox's last years, spent principally in and near London. The change from his life as an evangelist to that of pastor of an active settled Church is noteworthy. He served the metropolitan Church with ceaseless energy, but the terrible sufferings of his earlier life, added to his later labours, wore him out, and he died in 1624, a few days after he had been at Gracechurch Street Meeting-house, where he 'Declared a long time very pretiously and very audably, and went to prayer.' Edward Haistwell, his young attendant and amanuensis, wrote a diary which belonged to the Forster family. It has 180 pages measuring 7½ by 3 inches. Mr. Harvey says in his Introduction that the 'Short Journal' supplies details and little touches here and there. Fox tells how, when bruised and bleeding from the blows of his assailants, he was 'revived again by the power of God.' When the friendly constables do not deliver a warrant for his arrest he says, 'I saw in a vision a man and two Mastiffe doggs and a Bear, and I passed by them and they smiled upon me.' When stoned as he sat in the stocks at Mansfield, he is 'mazed and dazed with the blowes.' The 'Itinerary Journal' shows him moving over a more limited area, and busy with pastoral duty. It is a tercentenary memorial which makes a strong appeal to all students of Fox's life and character, and more than a hundred pages of Notes bear witness to the knowledge and skill with which the documents have been edited.

Letters of Constance Lytton. Selected and arranged by Betty
 Balfour. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d. net.)

Lady Constance Lytton was much before the public as a militant suffragist in 1910, and her sister helps us to understand the 'passion of pity and love of justice' which led her to sacrifice herself and to distress her mother and some of her dearest friends by her action as a rebel and an agitator. She was the granddaughter of Bulwer Lytton, but 'about his genius she cared nothing, and for his character she had no liking.' She thought it a sheer miracle that her father, the Indian Viceroy, came from 'such generations of undesirables on both sides' with hardly one speck of their taint on his nature.

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Where, she wondered, did 'his golden heart, generosity, gladdening genialness' come from. Her mother had not the sheer intellectuality of the Lyttons, but she brought into the family the 'clean element of an upright, conscientious, dutiful, law-abiding, sane, and normal woman.' Her daughter 'Con,' as her friend Mr. Maurice Baring says, 'could laugh at anything without being unkind. She had a celestial sense of humour, and infinite powers of appreciation. Her tolerance and her toleration were wonderful; nobody could make a purse out of a sow's ear, when it was necessary to do so, more deftly and more tactfully. Almost you were persuaded it was silk.' Her relations with her 'Aunt T,' Mrs. Earle of Cobham, were very tender, though the older lady looked with much misgiving on her niece's militant doings. Mrs. Earle dictated to her the notes which afterwards grew into *Pot-Pourri from a Surrey Garden*. 'But for my niece it would never have been finished, and but for her it would probably have been consigned to the flames, as I feared my husband did not like my publishing it.' Mrs. Earle generously shared with her the proceeds of the book. When Lady Con went with her mother to Cape Town she spent there 'the only wholly joyous months of her life.' She fell in love, but various obstacles prevented even an engagement. 'For three years she fed on hope; for another eleven years she continued to cover up a volcano of feeling with no hope, and then her great yearning to give herself to service found another vent.' Her mother became lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria in 1895, and had to spend a fortnight at the palace four times a year. This gave Lady Con 'snatches of the solitude for which she was always craving, despite her love of family life and intercourse with friends. As years went on, her own chances of happiness grew fainter, and intercourse with the man she loved became rarer and more restricted.' Her literary tastes are seen in many of the letters. She was unfair to Thackeray, as Maurice Baring told her, but found Tolstoi's *Anna Karenin* gorgeous. 'All he writes always seems to me incarnate genius. Such acute insight into character, and power of making it live in a printed page.' Emerson's *The Oversoul* seemed to her and her elder brother 'the most splendid thing, almost, ever written.' She thought 'knowledge acquired without books, direct, is the best of all; books are good short cuts.' Women's Suffrage found in her a valiant and influential champion, and to this Lady Betty Balfour devotes a harrowing chapter. Lady Selborne puts her attitude thus: 'She is such a noble, unselfish nature that it makes one feel better to be with her, but I always do feel that life would be hardly bearable if one held one's opinions with that intensity.' The strain of agitation and imprisonments brought on a stroke in May, 1912, and Lady Con led a crippled and invalid existence till her death on May 22, 1923. Her cousin and most intimate friend pays her warm tribute: 'All that can be written or said of Con will always fall short of what those intimate with her knew her to be. How can one describe her presence, the grace of her figure, the charm of her manner, her laughter, or her intense

feeling? Above all, it is beyond power to show the fullness of that noble, golden heart, which could rise in defence of another's wrong, but could never retaliate by anger or vituperation.'

Carlyle on Cromwell and Others. By David Alec Wilson.
(Kegan Paul & Co. 15s. net.)

This is Mr. Wilson's third volume on Carlyle, and two more will complete the Life. It is as vividly interesting as the earlier volumes, and its short chapters add to its attraction for the general reader. Carlyle and his wife both grow more lovable, and celebrities cluster round them of whom we cannot see too much. The volume opens in 1837, when the only offer he had for lecturing came from America, and 'the beggarly economical part of this existence on earth' was forcing itself on Carlyle. He tells his brother: 'My chief pity is for Jane. She hoped much of me; had great faith in me; and has endured much beside me, not murmuring at it. I feel as if I had to swim both for her deliverance and my own. Better health will be granted me; better days for us both.' Harriet Martineau, in 1838, thought 'Mrs. Carlyle looked like an abbess; black velvet cap with lappets, white scarf, and rosary. Very elegant creature.' The London lectures brought better days, and *Chartism, Past and Present*, and *Oliver Cromwell* established his reputation as a writer. His fine courage comes out in a letter to his Glasgow friend, William Graham. 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do that with all thy might, and leave the issues calmly to God. It is man's sole wisdom. Do not dig into the depths of the grave; they are wisely hidden from us, we know them not.' The account of their visit to W. E. Forster and the service in the Methodist chapel is of special interest. Forster felt Mrs. Carlyle to be 'one of those few women to whom a man could talk all day, or listen all day, with equal pleasure.' Carlyle he found a most delightful companion, with 'a rich store of hearty, genial, social kindness, and his eccentric humour striking laughter out of everyday occurrences.' Emerson, who visited them in 1847, was surprised at Carlyle's real vigour and range of thought. He was 'more extraordinary' in talking than in writing. Lovers of the Carlyles owe much to Mr. Wilson for his sparkling volumes.

The Reading Girl. By Coulson Kernahan. (Harrap & Co. 5s. net.) Few men have such a title to act as literary adviser to thoughtful girls as Mr. Kernahan, and his saunters in bookland are full of sound sense and insight. He covers a wide field. We visit libraries and learn how to use them; we enter the realms of poetry, essays, and fiction; we get hints for Bible reading based on personal experience. Nature, humour, dictionaries—all have their place in the volume, and 'A Book in the Pocket' shows how journeys and leisure moments may be enriched by such a companion. It is a survey that enlarges one's horizon; and its clear and practical suggestions will be highly prized by all who find joy in reading and want to gain fresh pleasure and profit from that most delightful of all recreations.

Movements in European History. By D. H. Lawrence. (Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d. net; prize edition, 8s. 6d.) This is the first illustrated edition of Mr. Lawrence's work, which was published in 1921. It seeks to give some impression of the surging movements which rose in the hearts of men in Europe, sweeping human beings together into one great concerted action, or sweeping them apart for ever on the tides of opposition. To watch the flood and ebb of such tides opens the way to 'a deducible sequence. Beforehand there is none.' Brief sketches are given of Rome and Constantinople; of Christianity, which gradually established itself; of the blue-eyed Teutons, who broke the Roman Empire, and then mingled with the dark-eyed races to form the people of modern Europe. Each stage in the European movement is clearly described, from the imperial unity to the unity of the labouring people with which the cycle of European history completes itself. The illustrations add much to the value of this compact and vivid survey.

Education in East Africa. Report prepared by T. J. Jones, D.D. (Edinburgh House Press. 7s. 6d.) The African Education Fund, established by a bequest from Miss Phelps-Stokes of New York in 1909, issued two volumes on Negro Education in 1917, and then arranged a Commission to study the needs of Africa. *Education in Africa* appeared in 1922, and is now followed by *Education in East Africa*. The Commission set itself to find the types of education best fitted to meet the needs of the negro masses and the negro leaders of Africa in the near future. Its members were convinced that all education must meet the specific wants and problems of individual and community life. The work at Hampton and Tuskegee indicates the right methods; and this Report surveys the field in Kenya, Uganda, Rhodesia, Basutoland, and other regions, with many illustrations, and discusses African agriculture, the education of women and girls, and other problems in the Continent of Great Opportunities and Great Responsibilities. The Trustees of the fund believe that a revival is about to take place in the interest of the native Africans. Dr. Jones says, 'The right type of education is very closely akin to the right type of Christian nurture, and there seems to be no part of the world where teachers and missionaries, living in the spirit of Christ and proclaiming His simple gospel by word, life, and deed, can render a larger service for the spread of the Kingdom of God than in Africa.'

The English Child's Book of the Church. By Sidney Dark. (Society of SS. Peter and Paul. 5s. net.) Mr. Dark has found this volume a more difficult task than his Child's Books of France, England, and Scotland. It is written from the very definite point of view of an Anglo-Catholic, and its denunciations of the Puritans are based on his belief that half the ills of the modern world are due to the Puritans. He says the simple supper in the Upper Room began 'with a very wonderful miracle. The ordinary bread and wine which had been bought from a shop in Jerusalem became the Body and Blood of our

Saviour.' He believes that 'Mass ought to be said in every church every day.' Luther and Knox, of course, fare badly at his hands, but Wesley has his place among the English saints and great men who lived and died for God's Church in England. 'In leaving the Church, and in refusing to obey its bishops and priests, the Methodists are disobeying the command of their great founder.' Those are some of the points in which we cannot follow Mr. Dark; but he certainly knows how to interest young readers, and causes the long course of history to revolve before their eyes in a way that will make them proud of their Church and eager to carry out our Lord's great plan for the salvation of the world.

The Future of Protestantism. By Ambrose Czakó, D.Ph. (Allen & Unwin. 4s. 6d. net.) The author was for some time Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy in the Training College for Secondary Teachers in Budapest, and is well known as a writer in Hungary. The Travelling Research Fellowship of Selly Oak has enabled him to investigate the religious situation in the Danubian countries. The great predominance of Catholic Clericalism in Hungary means formalism in the religious life, lower morality, opposition to Socialism, and fostering of reaction. The clergy are immersed in political life, and the Jesuits carry on a continuous polemic against Protestantism. The religious life of the greater Protestant denominations has much degenerated. Dr. Czakó regards Lutheranism as moribund, but he hopes much from the Methodists, who have been working in Budapest for six years and are spreading rapidly. Their sermons are 'simple and immediate'; their pastoral work is very good, and they do much to help the poor. After this survey the way of advance is considered. Quakerism wins his approval as 'testimony and proof that a genuine Christianity, and a full Church life, is possible apart from any ministry or priesthood.'

Three Inscriptions from Crete. Translated and edited by R. J. Walker, M.A. (Monaco: 20 Rue Émile de Loth.) The three inscriptions are in Greek characters, and were found at Praesus, the last stronghold of the descendants of the Minoans. The first is from a prose itinerary of Crete; the second is in prose, but less literary. The third is an oracular response in verse. The inscriptions are shown as actually extant, and full notes are given.

Pope. By Lytton Strachey. (Cambridge University Press. 2s. net.) Mr. Strachey thinks we may congratulate ourselves that we do not live in the eighteenth century to find ourselves exposed to the ridicule of the polite world on the elegant gibbet put up for us by the little monster of Twit'nam. We can quite imperturbably enjoy the fun. It is strange that Pope's contemporaries tolerated him as they did. He was pre-eminently a satirist who threw his wig into the corner of the room, and used all the plainest words in the dictionary. He seems to be actually screaming, but he turned his screams into poetry, with the enchantment of the heroic couplet. This Leslie Stephen Lecture gives food for keen literary discussion on every page.

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GENERAL

La Morale de saint Augustin. Par Bernard Roland-Gosselin.
(Paris : Rivière. 7 francs.)

THE writer, who is professor at the Catholic Institute, seeks to draw out the fundamental principles of St. Augustine's moral teaching with its more general applications. Augustine held that the short way to truth was humility, which strengthened charity, whilst pride quenched it. The two virtues were servants of reason and of faith. Augustine had found that reason was powerless without faith, and knew by experience that wisdom required an ardent heart and the soul of a child. His intellectual modesty was only equalled by his passion for truth. Reason and faith proclaim that God governs His creatures according to laws the wisest and most fitting. Nothing escaped His providence. This study of the eternal law leads on to the natural law, the temporal law, and the law of grace by which the Cross of Christ saves men from being engulfed by the torrent of evil. His study of the moral order is followed by chapters on the will and on virtue. Six problems of social morals are then considered—falsehood, war, suicide, marriage, virginity, and property. The necessary complement of St. Augustine's moral teaching is his own moral life, and to this the last section of the book is devoted. His life before and after his conversion is described. When he became bishop he turned his palace into a monastery, and established a community life with his clergy, who bound themselves to a rule of which the principal article was poverty. In his dress he preserved the simplicity and propriety which became his position, and only relaxed his austerity where charity was involved. Every statement is supported by quotations from his writings, which make the study one of special interest and value.

Chambers's Encyclopaedia. Vol. VI. Hume to Man. Edited by David Patrick, LL.D., and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. (W. & R. Chambers. 20s. net.)

This volume will be warmly welcomed. It has seven two-page maps, and many woodcuts scattered over the articles. The changes due to the war are notified in the article on Hungary, and that on Kenya is a compact summary of facts which are of special interest. The present Government of Ireland is clearly described. London, including the page given to London University, fills twenty-four columns. The history is surveyed, and attention is called to places of special interest. The scientific articles are specially valuable, and everything is presented in the clearest and most compact style. Professor Hales, in writing of Dr. Johnson, says : ' We should never

have known his real greatness but for Boswell's admirable portraiture of him and his masterly reports of his conversations. In Boswell's pages Johnson will live for ever, and be better known than anybody that ever lived. And the more he is known, the more readily will be recognized the nobleness of his nature, the vigour of his genius, and the value of his literary services.' The more one uses *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* the more one appreciates its articles.

The Welsh Mind in Evolution. By J. Vrynwy Morgan, D.D. (Allenson. 10s. 6d.)

Dr. Morgan points out the union of opposite qualities in the Welsh. They have been Radicals in politics, but Conservatives in religion. 'The typical Welshman is a man of large self-esteem, large reflective powers, large conscientiousness, but comparatively small benevolence.' The Welsh have stood for the ideas of governor and government in theology, but in politics for the governed. In politics they have shown a wide benevolence and large social feelings. The number of persons speaking Welsh is perceptibly declining. Rural districts are becoming Anglicized as rapidly as urban areas. Dr. Morgan is a Welshman himself, but he feels constrained to protest against the corruption, or prostitution, of the principle of nationality, because he thinks that no stable social structure, no efficient system of self-government, can be established on the basis of the narrow particularism upon which Welsh nationality rests.

Love. By the author of *Elizabeth and her German Garden*. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) There is no lack of quiet humour and subtle delineation of character in this clever story. It has a double plot—the love of the young wife for her husband, and of Virginia's mother for her young husband. The disparity of age does not altogether spoil the first, but it brings grievous complications for Christopher and Catherine. His wooing carries the widow off her feet, and her attempts to grow young have a tragic side. They are left at last to 'take care' of each other, though much afraid as to how it will turn out. It is a piece of very fine work, though we cannot call it exhilarating.—*This Old Man.* By Gertrude Bone. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.) This is a beautiful set of sketches of old John the carrier and his wife Mary, whom all the country-side regarded as one of the best. The clever young carver and his wife, with her baby boy, fill a large place in the canvas, and Helen Ross, his patroness, is a fine study. We get into the minds of them all, and look at life through their eyes. The frontispiece by Muirhead Bone, of the mother bending over her baby, is a fitting prelude to an unusually charming little volume.—*Adolphe.* By Benjamin Constant. (Stanley Paul & Co. 2s. 6d.) This new volume of the International Library is translated by J. Lewis May, who gives the facts of Constant's life and his relations with Madame de Staël in his Introduction. *Adolphe* is a thinly disguised autobiography, and it does little credit to Constant's heart or his morals. It shows,

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as the 'letter to the editor' puts it, that into the love from which Society withholds its sanction it distils bitterness and gall.—*The Golden Shaft*. By Rose Merrin. (Stockwell. 2s. 6d. net.) Bright stories for children, with a good moral.—*The Ethics of Birth Control*. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) This is the report of a special committee appointed by the National Council of Public Morals. The subject is carefully and frankly discussed by such men as Bishop Gore, the Hon. Bertrand Russell, the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, Miss Maude Royden, and others. Such a body of evidence will be of great service to many.—*The Little Palace Beautiful*. By F. W. Boreham. (Epworth Press. 6d. net.) This dainty and tender chapter from *The Golden Milestone* will bring joy to many hearts, and will win for 'The little Child that is' and 'The little Child that is to be' a host of loving friends.—*The Kiddies' Annual*, with its tempting cover and its lively contents, takes high rank among nursery favourites. There is much fun in it, and its pictures are often very amusing, whilst stories and verse are just what a child will delight in.—*The Gate of Pearl*. By G. C. Leader, B.D. (Allenson. 8s. 6d. net.) Thirty-one addresses to boys and girls, which are fresh, varied, and full of good counsel aptly put.—*The French A B C* (London: Vickery & Co., 1s. net) is a new guide to French towns. Its first pages are given to Paris, then the places are arranged in alphabetical order, with the train service from Paris and a few notes on features of interest. Illustrations of the chief places are included. It is a valuable handbook for travellers.—*Prisoners of the Lord*. (Cardiff Western Mail. 2s.) This is a business man's thoughts on life, expressed in prose and poetry. He begins with *Hamlet*, and has much to say about matter and society, about education and the vitalism towards which he thinks the best science and philosophy of the coming years are sweeping onwards.—*Verse in Bloom*. By Norman Gale. (Old Bilton, Rugby. 6s. net.) This is choice work, into which thought and feeling are closely packed. It arrests attention in its first lines, which confess

The shame of a tongue, loose and careless,
Pattered a prayer which was almost prayerless.

'Bethlehem' pleases us much, and other pages bring pleasant visions to a reader's eyes.—*St. Deniol's Hawarden*. (Milford. 6d. net.) A sketch by Mrs. Drew with an account of the work of the Library by the Warden.—The Rev. Sheldon Knapp's *Autosuggestion; Health, Spiritual and Physical*; and *A Letter to an Invalid* represent strong convictions and prolonged study. They are certainly calls to faith and courage. They are sent post free for one shilling from the author at Barton-on-Humber.—*Bells for Evensong*. (Amersham: Chevalier. 1s. net.) A graceful sacred song set to pleasant music.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—‘Cinematography in Schools’ is a valuable discussion of this subject. The films exhibited at many children’s displays are not only sensational, but exhibit scenes of the worst passions, and are often terrifying to children. ‘Outside the school, rather than in it, is the real place for the cinematograph in education.’ The first article brings out the importance of right decisions as to ‘Education in Tropical Africa.’ A future generation may look back in amazement at the comparative apathy of the British people to-day in a matter so momentous. Professor Wheatley’s ‘English Place-Names’ is of special interest, and the editor writes on ‘National Finance.’ ‘The re-establishment of the gold standard immensely strengthens the position of London as the banking centre of the world.’

Expositor (June—July).—The ‘Ten Best Books’ series is continued, the subjects in these two numbers being Preaching and Prayer. Mr. Price Evans contributes the paper on preaching, and concludes with the sage advice ‘Let each preacher compile his own list (of ten best books) and use it diligently.’ We might be disposed to add, ‘and as soon as possible, read no more books on preaching, but do your best work in your own way.’ Professor Anderson Scott’s article, ‘The Ten Best Books on Prayer,’ will certainly prove useful to many who do not agree exactly with the selection made. Canon Harford’s article, ‘Since Wellhausen,’ is timely, as enabling readers to take stock of the present position in Old Testament criticism. He asks, ‘Have the main pillars of the modern view been shaken?’ and in the July number he writes an introductory article, which is to prepare the way for a detailed examination of the criticism made upon the dominant hypothesis that ‘The Pentateuch grew up in the post-Mosaic period out of the combination of several sources which were written in Palestine.’ Other good articles are ‘Symbols and Sacraments’ by Rev. E. W. Johnson, and the ‘Philosophy of the Fourth Gospel’ by Canon Gamble. But quite as important as the formal leading articles are the Editor’s Notes, entitled ‘Current Issues’ and the ‘Notes and Notices’ of Recent Criticism.

Expository Times (June and July).—Dr. A. B. Alexander writes in both these numbers on ‘The Johannine Doctrine of the Logos.’ His articles are full of information and suggestion. The main conclusion he reaches is that the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel is ‘a vital part of the whole book, containing the clue to its meaning and purpose.’ The essence and controlling motive of the author’s

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message is given by himself in ch. xx. 81. Dr. Rendel Harris, asking 'Did Jesus use Testimonies?' answers that 'the precedent for an anti-judaic use of the Old Testament came from Jesus Himself' and His method, as well as His matter, was followed by early Christian believers. Professor Hugh Michael, of Toronto, discusses the 'Unrecorded Thunder Voices' of Rev. x. 8, and Dr. J. G. Tasker, deals with the fourth edition of the *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* founded by De la Saussaye. Professor J. E. McFadyen also writes on 'Recent German Theology.' Professor Stalker's paper on 'The Holy Year at Rome' will be read with interest; while the Editor's Notes and the sections 'In the Study,' 'Contributions and Comments,' and 'Entre Nous' well maintain their interest and value.

The Pilgrim (July).—Dr. Temple thinks we need an apparatus in industry like the League of Nations, which would help Capital and Labour to understand each other's problems. W. L. Hare dwells on historical examples of 'The Religion of Love'; John Lee deals with 'The Social Dynamic.' What we need is 'personal social service.' We have forgotten the human heart in our calculations. 'Prayer and the New Psychology' and 'Reality in the Pulpit' make their own appeal. Mr. Maurice Pryke says, 'The recitation of the Athanasian Creed, with its "bad temper" and unsparing use of technical theological terms, which, to those unacquainted with their history and altered significance, necessarily convey a meaning not seldom diametrically opposed to that intended, leaves the average worshipper either befogged and irritated or unintelligently belligerent in the defence of a document which he does not understand.' In 'The Problem of the Press' the editor holds that, when the public is rational in its attitude to public life, the Press will respond.

The Congregational Quarterly (July).—There is a well-timed Editorial Note on the ordinary minister doing his work best by combining with preaching and worship individual attention to the adult and the child. To deal adequately with human souls requires infinite patience and tact, and no little knowledge, much of which can only be gained by experience. Dr. Powicke writes on Baxter and *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*. Mr. Lovell Cocks, in his article on 'The Meaning and Value of Prayer,' dwells on its sacramental aspect: 'Through us, as His sacraments, God draws near to those for whom we pray.' The sections on 'Developments and Experiments' and 'Foreign Reviews and Impressions' are full of varied interest.

Review of the Churches (July).—Canon Raven thinks that the Bishop of Durham's references to Copec in *Quo Tendimus* are 'an apologia for his own attitude. He made up his mind long ago that Copec was mistaken and dangerous; he now has to prove that he was a true prophet. Thus he examines the movement not without bias, and his criticisms cannot be accepted as

an impartial verdict.' He thinks that from the first the bishop falls into self-contradictory arguments and repeated misrepresentations. 'Dr. Henson, from first to last, has forced upon Copece a quality and motives which exist solely in his own imagination.' The Rev. James Green in 'Church Reunion in Australia,' says he has seen many signs, amid all the recent discussions on Church Union, which show that Australian Methodists are beginning to feel the need of closer union between the different branches of world-wide Methodism. 'We are beginning to feel and appreciate more our oneness with the great Wesleyan Mother Church in England. With increased facilities for travel, and closer and more rapid communications, and particularly as reunion between the branches of Methodism in Great Britain seems to draw near, we begin to wonder at the difficulty which makes an interchange of ministerial service, which would be helpful to all concerned, so hard to effect. The need for a Pan-Methodism, which would enable us to pool our common experience and give us a closer fellowship, and which would make Methodist Brotherhood more apparent, is seen more and more, and was particularly obvious during the Great War. This would not hinder other world-wide reunions which are being discussed, but would really help, as the will to unite lies implicit in Methodism; but it needs guidance, encouragement, and, most of all, co-ordination.'

Science Progress (July).—Professor Camerson writes on 'Soil Insects' which spend some stage of their development either on or beneath the surface of the soil. The control of harmful insects has always been difficult, and methods of dealing with them are discussed. 'Education in Ancient Egypt' had to face several hundreds of hieroglyphs which were in common use. Schools attached to the great temples and government departments trained boys in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Sir Ronald Ross says that Sir William Osler shone in all three branches of medicine—practice, teaching, and investigation. 'His conversation flickered from point to point like summer lightning. He seemed never tired, abstracted, nor lethargic.'

Poetry (June).—The editor writes on 'The Death of Christopher Marlowe.' His companions at Deptford were young men of respectable antecedents, with whom he was naturally brought into contact by his position in Walsingham's service. No woman was concerned in the matter, and the 'report of the blasphemies on his lips when he died is obviously untrue, as the only witnesses who could know anything of the matter agreed in stating on oath (whether truly or not) that his death was instantaneous.'

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago) (May).—The first Article, by E. C. Vanderlaan, is entitled 'Modernism and Historic Study,' and the writer inquires whether Modernism is a legitimate form, or a perversion, of the Christian Religion. He distinguishes between the

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historic system of theology known as Christianity, which the modernist does not accept, and the 'mind of Jesus' on the character of God and His view of human life, as to which it is contended that the religion of the modernist is profoundly Christian. *Modernism in India*, by Miss Eno, enables the reader to understand something of the causes of the spiritual ferment which is at work in the India of our time. Professor E. B. Harper, in discussing the causes and prevalence of sin, reminds us that it is of little use to fall vaguely back on man's 'sinful nature,' but that the sinner is always an individual, and every case needs 'individual diagnosis in order to discover just why the sinner behaved as he did.' Other articles are on 'The Content of Religious Education,' by A. J. W. Myers, 'Afterthoughts on the Washington Conference,' by A. C. Baker, and 'An Egyptian Contribution to the Book of Proverbs,' by Marion H. Dunsmore. In the section 'Current Events and Discussions' such questions are raised as 'Is the Church over-institutionalized?' 'Does the Orient want Christianity?' and 'Why do intelligent people oppose Evolution?'

Harvard Theological Review.—In the April number Professor Campbell Bonner gives a preliminary description of 'A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas' in the University of Michigan collection of papyri. The fragment is confined to the 'Similitudes,' and covers a little more than one fourth of the whole work. The text is 'generally excellent, in spite of occasional errors and omissions,' and Professor Bonner thinks that it 'may prove to be our best authority for the portion of "The Shepherd" that it covers, especially when, as is often the case, it has the support of the old Latin version.' Professor Gustav Krüger continues his comprehensive survey of 'Literature on Church History.' Amongst the most valuable of the Notes on writings published in 'The Nineteenth Century and the Beginnings of the Twentieth' are those on Schleiermacher. Wendland's *Die religiöse Entwicklung Schleiermachers* is commended as giving 'an excellent idea of his religious development.' Dunkmann's study of the influence of the *Glaubenslehre* traces its positive results on various thinkers, and gives criticisms 'from highly diverse points of view, catholic, supernaturalist, mediating, rationalistic, speculative.' The closing article by Professor Goodenough, of Yale University, is an appreciation of 'The Pseudo-Justinian *Oratio ad Graecos*.' This document 'seems to represent an advanced stage of Hellenistic Judaism, which it is difficult to put much before Philo, and which was probably nearly contemporary with him.'

Princeton Theological Review (April).—The first article on 'The State of the Church,' by C. E. Macartney, deals with recent controversy, and the 'dangerous and Christ-denying heresies which had bewitched a part of the (Presbyterian) Church.' 'Theology and Evolution,' by David S. Clark, deals with the bearing of current evolutionary theories on the Christian doctrines of God, sin, the Scriptures, Christ and salvation. An interesting paper on a somewhat

obscure question of ecclesiastical history is entitled 'Sacramental Negotiations at the Diet of Augsburg, 1580,' and is written by Hastings Ellis. R. D. Wilson writes on 'Aramaism in the Old Testament,' maintaining that these are more numerous and more generally distributed in the books of the Old Testament than has been hitherto recognized. The editor of the *Review*, throughout a long article of more than fifty pages, subjects 'Dr. Moffatt's New Translation of the Old Testament' to a minute and severely depreciatory analysis. The Reviews of Recent Literature are, as usual, careful and thorough. A volume by Professor E. Doumergne of Montauban, Bishop Gore's *Holy Spirit and the Church*, and Principal Garvie's *The Beloved Disciple*, are among the books discussed in the April number.

Anglican Theological Review (Gambier, Ohio) (May).—The chief articles in this number are on 'Educational Conviction in Religion,' 'Personality and the Devotional Life,' and 'The Chalcedonic Decree as an Interpretation of our Lord's Person.' The last is a thoughtful and scholarly article interesting to the student of ecclesiastical history who is well versed in theological technicalities.

Christian Union Quarterly (July).—Professor Keenleyside thinks that 'Church Union in Canada' is likely to have a place of real importance in the history of the Christian Church. 'The religious record of Canada in modern times has been characterized by a rather broad tolerance. There is Modernism and Fundamentalism, but little intolerance. In preparing the doctrinal statement of the new Church it was, then, necessary to provide for the inclusion of both liberals and conservatives. This was done by adopting a conservative credal statement, but by requiring only a general adherence to it.' In the United States the controversy between Fundamentalism and Modernism is still raging, and this will tend to delay any widespread projects of unification.

The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (May—June).—Colonel Fraser writes on 'The Beatification of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France.' He thinks that a religious awakening in the Catholic Church, not only in Canada, but in the United States also, may be expected with some certainty. That would be 'a resistless challenge, which would necessarily be accepted on religious rather than on ecclesiastical grounds, the outcome of which would be of far-reaching and vital interest.'

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review May—June).—'Historical Records at Goa,' and 'The East India Company' prior to the embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzeb, are features of this number, and an Indian writer on 'The Moral Value of Religion' says 'a life without religion certainly lacks much of its depth, fervour, and enthusiasm,' but, if divorced 'from morality, and deprived of its lead and guidance, it may prove a veritable Serbonian bog in which the whole army of man's nobler purposes may find their watery grave.'



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